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MÜNCHENER BEITRÄGE

ZUR

ROMANISCHEN UND ENGLISCHEN PHILOLOGIE.

HERAUSGEGEBEN

VON

H. BREYMANN UND E. KOEPPEL.

IX.

METHODISM IN THE LIGHT OF THE ENGLISH LITERATURE OF THE LAST CENTURY.

ERLANGEN & LEIPZIG.
A. DEICHERT'SCHE VERLAGSBUCHH. NACHF. (GEORG BÖHME).
1895.

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METHODISM

IN THE

LIGHT OF THE ENGLISH LITERATURE

OF THE

LAST CENTURY.

BY

DR. J. ALBERT SWALLOW.

ERLANGEN & LEIPZIG.
A. DEICHERT'SCHE VERLAGSBUCHH. NACHF. (GEORG BÖHME).
1895.

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List of the Chief Works Consulted.

American Museum. Philadelphia 1790—92. 12 vols.

Anstey, Christopher. The New Bath Guide. 11th Edition. London 1779.

Biographia Dramatica. Compiled by Baker, Reed and Jones. London 1812. 3 vols.

Boswell, James. Life of Samuel Johnson. Ed. by J. W. Croker. London 1831. 5 vols.

British Theatre. London 1791. 22 vols.

Chatterton, Thomas. Works. Cambridge 1842. 2 vols.

Coke and Moore. Life of the Rev. John Wesley A. M. New Edition. London, s. a.

Cowper, William. Poetical Works. Aldine Edition. London 1865. 3 vols.

Crabbe, George. Works. London 1823. 8 vols.

English Comedies. London 1791—1802. 9 vols.

English Theatre. London 1757—1767. 8 vols.

Fielding, Henry. Works. Edited by Thomas Roscoe. London 1840.

Foote, Samuel, Plays. 10th Edition. London 1778—97. 3 vols.

Gillies, J. Memoirs of the Life of George Whitefield. London 1772.

Goldsmith, Oliver. Miscellaneous Works. Edited by W. Irving. Paris 1837. 4 vols.

Jackson, Th. The Centenary of Wesleyan Methodism, London 1839.

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Jackson, Life of Charles Wesley. London 1841. 2 vols.

Johnson, Dr. Sam. Lives and Poetical Works of the English Poets from Chaucer to Cowper (continued by Chalmers). London 1810. 21 vols. Quoted: Chalmers' Engl. Poets.

Johnson, Dr. Sam. Lives of the Poets. London 1820. 2 vols.

Magazine, Gentleman's. London 1816. 32 vols.

„ Lady's. London 1770—1803. 34 vols.

„ London. London 1755—57, 1760—63. 7 vols.

Mirror, The. 6th Edition. London 1786. 3 vols.

Montagu, Lady Mary Wortley. Letters and Works. Ed. by her Great Grandson, Lord Wharncliffe. 2nd Ed., Revised. London 1837. 3 vols.

Monthly Review. London 1749 etc. (cf. p. 91).

More, Hannah. Works. London 1801. 8 vols.

„ Cælebs in Search of a Wife. 14th Ed. London 1813. 2 vols.

Murphy, Arthur. Life of Garrick. London 1801. 2 vols.

Poets of Great Britain, Complete Edition of the. London and Edinburgh 1795. 13 vols.

Pope, Alexander. Works. Ed. by Elwin and Courthope. London 1871—89. 10 vols.

Richardson, Samuel. Sir Charles Grandison. 3rd Edit. London 1754. 7 vols.

Smollett, Tobias. Miscellaneous Works. Ed. by Thomas Roscoe. London 1841.

„ History of England. London 1766.

Southey, Robert. Life of Wesley. London 1820. 2 vols.

„ Life of Wesley. Cavendish Library Edition. London and New York 1889.

Stephen, Leslie. History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century. London 1881. 2 vols.

Sterne, Lawrence. Works. London 1843.

Stevens, Abel. The History of the Religious Movement of the Eighteenth Century, called Methodism. New York 1858—61. 3 vols.

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Tyerman, Luke. Life and Times of John Wesley. London 1870—71. 3 vols.

Walpole, Horace. Letters. Edited by Peter Cunningham. London 1857—59. 9 vols.

„ Works. London 1798—1822. 8 vols. 4to.

Wesley, John. Works. London 1881. 14 vols. (Reprint of Thomas Jackson's Edition of 1831. Vol. I—IV: Journals).

Whitefield, George. Works: Letters and Sermons. London 1771—72. 7 vols.

Note: The work, entitled "Methodism and Literature", by J. A. Archibald, Cincinnati 1883, has no connection with the present dissertation, for it is a series of articles on the literary enterprise and achievements of the Methodist Episcopal Church of America.

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Introduction.

A Short Sketch of the Rise of Methodism.

Biographies of John Wesley, Charles Wesley and George Whitefield.

By way of introduction to the work before us we purpose giving a very short and concise sketch of the rise and progress of Methodism during the life of its founder. This of necessity involves the biographies of its three chief promoters, John Wesley, Charles Wesley and George Whitefield.

The principal sources for a life of John Wesley are his Letters and Journals (1739—1791). Apart from the numberless lives or rather sketches of this great man, eight biographies stand out above the rest and must be considered as standard works on the subject: —

1. Memoirs of the late Rev. John Wesley A. M. with a Review of his Life and Writings. By John Hampson A. B. Sunderland 1791, 3 vols.

Hampson had seen himself obliged to leave the Methodist body, because he considered himself neglected by Wesley. Though on the whole he has written a faithful account of Wesley, yet his estimation of this great preacher's character is naturally a biassed one. [1])

[1]) Tyerman vol. I, Preface p. III; Monthly Review, Dec. 1791 Art. IV. p. 389 ff. See also below p. 107 ff.

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2. The Life of the Rev. John Wesley A. M. etc. By Dr. Coke and Mr. Moore. London 1792.[1])

This was a hasty publication and consequently very imperfect. It is written in the true methodistic style and was intended above all for the edification of Mr. Wesley's followers.

3. The Life of the Rev. John Wesley etc. By John Whitehead M. D. London 1793—6, 2 vols.

This biography is very highly recommended by the "Monthly Review",[2]) but said by Mr. Tyerman to have been composed in the midst of disgraceful conditions which ensued on Mr. Wesley's death and to be tinged with party feeling.[3])

4. Life of Wesley. By Robert Southey. London 1820, 2 vols.

From a literary point of view this is the best of the biographies, but it is of little value for exact historical purposes, no attention at all being paid to chronology, which renders it very confusing.[4])

5. Life of Wesley. By Mr. Moore. London 1824.

Mr. Tyerman says that this is the fullest and most reliable of the earlier biographies, but that it is a mere collaboration of Dr. Whitehead's.[5])

6. Life of Wesley. By Mr. Watson. London 1831.

This work is of no great importance as it was avowedly prepared for the general public.

7. The History of the Religious Movement of the Eight-

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[1]) Tyerman l. c.; Monthly Review, Sept. 1794 Art. IV. p. 28 ff.

[2]) Cf. Oct. 1794 Art. VIII. p. 159; June 1797 Art. IV. p. 137.

[3]) Tyerman l. c.

[4]) It is well-known that Southey intended reissuing his "Life of Wesley" with emendations. He had represented Wesley as being carried away by his ambition, but was afterwards convinced of his mistake by Mr. Watson. Several years ago (Cavendish Library Edition, London and New York 1889) a reprint of his work was published by the Rev. J. A. Atkinson with notes written in the sense that Southey himself would probably have followed, had he carried out his intention.

[5]) Tyerman l. c.

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eenth Century, called Methodism. By Abel Stevens L. L. D. New York 1858—61, 3 vols.

The first two volumes of this work contain a very full and comprehensive, well-written and reliable life of John Wesley, of his brother Charles and of George Whitefield. It seems quite unaccountable that the latest biographer of Wesley does not mention this work in referring to the previous Lives of Wesley, and quotes it but exceedingly sparingly.

8. The Life and Times of John Wesley. By the Rev. Luke Tyerman. London 1870—1, 3 vols.

This is the latest and probably will be the last of Wesley's biographies. It is perhaps more comprehensive than the work of Stevens, and is very carefully and impartially written.

Though the first six biographies mentioned in our list did good service in their day and are still valuable, they are now almost superseded by the two latter, and it is from these two latter that we have principally drawn the materials for the following sketch.

John Wesley 1703—1791.

John Wesley, the founder of Methodism, was born at the Rectory of Epworth in Lincolnshire on the 17th (OS.) of June 1703. He was the second surviving son of nineteen children. After a very careful home-training, especially on the part of his mother, he was sent to the Charterhouse, when he was but ten years and a half old. Here, according to his own account, he was anything but devoted to religion.[1]) In the year 1720 he was elected to Christ College, Oxon., but it was not before 1725 that he expressed any desire to take holy orders, having been principally influenced in making this resolution by reading the works of Thomas à Kempis and Jeremy Taylor. His ordination took place on Sunday Sept. 19th 1725. He did not, however, devote himself to church-work for some years, being elected Fellow of Lincoln College,

[1]) Cf. Wesley's Works, vol. I. p. 98.

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and Greek Lecturer and Moderator. In the year 1726 was published William Law's "Christian Perfection", and in 1729 his "Serious Call". These two works were the cause of Wesley coming to the determination "to be all devoted to God, to give Him all my Soul, my body, and my substance".[1])

On account of his father's advanced age and debility, Wesley officiated at Epworth and Wroote from August 1727 to November 1729, when he returned to Oxford. Here he remained until he sailed on his mission to Georgia on the 14th October 1735. This mission did not fulfil the expectations formed of it, and Wesley returned to England after an absence of more than two years.

Methodism (so-called) really took its rise as early as 1729, while John Wesley was at Epworth, the real author being his brother Charles. The latter had begun to be religious and to attend the weekly sacrament. He had also induced two or three of his fellow-students to join him. On John's return to Oxford in Nov. 1729 he heartily united with his brother, and along with Robert Kirkham and William Morgan, they began to spend some evenings a week in reading the Greek Testament together. The next year, two or three of John and Charles Wesley's pupils desired to be allowed to meet with them. In 1732 Mr. Ingham, Mr. Broughton and Mr. Clayton were added to their numbers. Mr. Whitefield joined them in 1735.

The exact regularity of their lives as well as studies occasioned some one to style them "Methodists", alluding to some ancient physicians who were so called.[2]) This name was catching and stuck to their followers ever after. Wesley himself never recognised the term as signifying a sect, and when he uses the word, he repeatedly apologises, as it were, by adding some such limiting attribute as "vulgarly termed", or "so called."[3])

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[1]) Tyerman vol. I. p. 50; Wesley's Works vol. XI. p. 367.

[2]) Cf. A Short History of Methodism. By John Wesley. London 1789, p. 4 ff.; Wesley's Works vol. IX. p. 130; Tyerman vol. I. p. 67.

[3]) Cf. Journals vol. II. pp. 25. 30. 31. 37.

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These "Methodists" were zealous members of the Church of England, tenacious of all her doctrines, conscientious observers of the University Statutes, their greatest desire being to prove themselves Bible Christians, "taking the Bible as interpreted by the primitive Church and our own for their whole and their sole rule". They were charged with being righteous overmuch, too scrupulous and too strict, carrying things to extremes, taking the Scriptures too literally, so that if they were right, few indeed would be saved.[1])

Wesley was so impressed by the spiritual piety of the Moravians whose acquaintance he made on his voyage out to Georgia, that on his return to England he set out, in the summer of the same year (1738), on a journey to the Moravian settlement at Herrnhut in Saxony, in order as he himself expressed it "to see the place where the Christians live".[2]) Wesley was delighted with most of what he saw, but had weighty accusations against them. Later he felt himself compelled to separate from them altogether.

After his return to England the "Methodists" began to be convinced that *by Grace we are saved through Faith;* that Justification by Faith was the doctrine of the Church, as well as of the Bible. As soon as they believed they spoke. Salvation by faith was now the centre of their preaching. This implied: 1. That men are all by nature *dead in sin* and consequently *children of wrath.* 2. That they are *justified by faith alone.* 3. That faith produces inward and outward holiness. They became popular preachers and their former name was revived. The clergy, however, began to close their churches against them, which was the reason why Mr. Whitefield on Feb. 17th 1739 (having returned from Georgia on Nov. 30th 1738) began to preach in the open air to two hundred colliers at Kingswood near Bristol. Wesley at first felt the impropriety of this procedure, but when he saw the blessings attending it, he hesitated no longer and

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[1]) Cf. Wesley's Short History of Methodism, p. 4 ff.

[2]) Tyerman vol. I. p. 199.

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from henceforth Field Preaching was one of the principal ways of spreading Methodism. In spite of the large assemblies they gathered together, they were attacked from all sides, by the mob, by the press and by the Church, but they continued boldly preaching according to their convictions and were rewarded by the success they attained. Much offence was taken at the strange scenes, the so-called "signs", which attended Wesley's preaching in the early part of his ministry. These scenes were occasioned by persons being so overwhelmed by the conviction of the enormity of their sins, that they shouted and screamed, and really seemed as though they were possessed. Many dropped down as dead; others roared and beat themselves, but most of them returned to a right state of mind and were healed physically and spiritually when special prayer was offered up for them. Wesley has described many cases of this kind in his Journals, and it is a curious fact that these "signs" were seldom repeated after the year 1739, nor had the preaching of Whitefield and Charles Wesley the same effects. The latter, indeed, considered they were a device of Satan to stop the course of the gospel. Various reasons were suggested in explanation, but John Wesley himself, supported afterwards by Isaac Taylor, explained them "by principles of reason and Scripture". [1])

The year 1739 was an important one in the history of Methodism, for in it the first lay preacher began to help the Wesleys, the first Methodist meeting-house in the metropolis, the London Foundery, was hired and arranged for public services, and finally Kingswood School was founded. During the next year occurred Wesley's dissensions with the Moravians, which ended in his being excluded from their pulpits. It was in this year too that the Calvinian disputes with Whitefield took place on the doctrine of Election. Wesley's objections were that it renders all preaching vain, tends to destroy holiness, the comfort of religion and our zeal for good works. Further he considered that it had a direct and manifest tendency to overthrow the whole Christian revelation,

[1]) Cf. Tyerman vol. I. 265 f.

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and is full of blasphemy. The result of these disputes was that Wesley and Whitefield separated in March 1741. An attempt at reunion was made soon after, but it was unsuccessful, and though Wesley and Whitefield were reconciled themselves and remained personal friends to the end, the schism was never healed. This crisis is very important in trying to obtain a correct view of the attitude assumed by the stage and the press in reference to the Methodists. As we shall see in the course of our researches the doctrine of Election was carried to its extremes and treated accordingly.

Wesleyan Methodism now began to be formed into an organisation. Methodist Societies had been started in 1739, but it was not until 1742 that they were divided into classes, the members of which met their leader once a week with the object of speaking about their Christian experience, of exhorting and of encouraging one another. Each member received a *ticket*, on which the member's name was written. In Bristol and London Wesley wrote the names himself. He regarded these tickets as being equivalent to the "*ἐπιστολαὶ συστατικαί*" [1]) mentioned by the apostle Paul (II. Cor. 3, 1). They were renewed every quarter so that if any member proved disorderly he simply did not receive a ticket, and was thus excluded from the society. The Methodists were further divided into four sections, namely the united societies, the bands, the select societies, and the penitents.[2]) The members of the bands were chosen from the united societies, and those again of the select societies from the bands, while the penitents were those who had for the present fallen from grace.

In the early years of Methodism persecution was rife on all hands. The riots in Staffordshire and the persecution in Cornwall in the year 1743 are glaring examples of the degraded and sorry condition of many of the clergy, as well as of the powerlessness of the magistrates to prevent the mob

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[1]) Tyerman vol. I. p. 354.
[2]) Ib. vol. I. p. 444 ff.

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from doing as they liked. As an answer to the charges brought against the Wesleys of getting rich at the expense of their followers it may be stated here that in the year 1743 the total income amounted to about £800. Out of this all chapel expenses had to be defrayed; a large proportion was given to the afflicted poor; something was necessary for Wesley's helpers; and the remainder was perhaps given to the two Wesleys.[1]) Again, in Nov. 1753, when Wesley was on the verge of the grave, in order to prevent vile panegyric, he wrote his epitaph as follows:[2])

Here lieth the Body
of
John Wesley
A Brand Plucked out of the Burning:
Who died of Consumption in the fifty-first year of his age,
Not leaving, after his debts are paid,
Ten Pounds behind him,
Praying:
God be merciful to me, an Unprofitable Servant!

In the year 1744 was held the first Methodist Conference at which were present four clergymen, and four lay preachers besides the two Wesleys. The subjects of debate were: — 1. What to teach? 2. How to teach? 3. How to regulate doctrine, discipline and practice?[3])

Ireland was first visited by Wesley in 1747, from which time he continued to include it in his itinerancy until his latest years. It was not until 1751 that he entered Scotland, this being also the year of his marriage which brought him anything but happiness. The year 1755 formed a crisis in the history of Methodism. At the Conference of that year the subject of Separation from the Church was seriously and warmly discussed. The Wesleys set their faces against it, while such men as the two Perronets and Thomas Walsh were anxious to come to some arrangement. For the present it

[1]) Tyerman vol. I. p. 423.
[2]) Ib. vol. II. p. 174; Journals vol. II. p. 309.
[3]) Ib. vol. I. p. 443.

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was agreed after three days' discussion that whether it was *lawful* or not, it was not *expedient* for the Methodists to separate from the Established Church. This subject continued to be a sore point as long as the Wesleys lived, for though it was repeatedly considered at their conferences, yet the two brothers would never yield, and it was thus that the separation did not take place until the end of the century after John Wesley's death.

In 1755 Wesley first made the acquaintance of John Fletcher who afterwards became Vicar of Madeley and was Methodism's principal champion against the Calvinists.[1]) He was a native of Switzerland, his real name being Jean de la Fléchère.

In spite of the continued attacks on Methodism its followers increased rapidly. Wesley was an indefatigable worker. He travelled thousands of miles every year, published sermons, pamphlets, and books on all manner of subjects and erected chapels in different parts of the country. Meanwhile Methodism was also spreading in America under the care of Philip Embury and Captain Webb. Whitefield had preached in all the towns along the east coast from Savannah in Georgia to New York and Boston. In 1769 Richard Boardman and Joseph Pilmoor were sent from England in order to help in forming an organisation. On the 30th of September 1770 Mr. Whitefield died at Newburyport near Boston, being called away suddenly in the midst of his work of evangelisation. Instead of his decease putting an end to controversy, it burst forth with greater violence than ever. On the part of the Calvinists it was conducted principally by the two brothers Hill along with the Rev. Augustus Toplady. They were unfortunately very far from being calm and unprejudiced, forming a great contrast to the principal defender of John Wesley. This was "the sainted Fletcher" who wrote his five "Checks to Antinomianism" during this controversy. Finally, the polemics came to an end without either party confessing that they were in the wrong.

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[1]) Cf. Monthly Review, Dec. 1771 etc.; below p. 103 f.

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John Wesley survived Whitefield by more than twenty years and his brother Charles by three. He was active in his labours as minister of the gospel until the very last. On Thursday February 17th 1791 he preached at Lambeth and on returning home he seemed to be unwell, saying that he had taken cold. On the following Thursday, however, he was able to preach in City Road Chapel, and again on the following day in the dining-room of a magistrate at Leatherhead some eighteen miles from London. This was his last sermon. The next day he was confined to his room, and passed away utterly exhausted, but full of happiness and praise on Wednesday March 2nd 1791. His remains were interred behind the Chapel in City Road on the 9th of March. In order to prevent the inconvenience of a large unmanageable crowd, the funereal solemnities were performed at 5 o'clock in the morning.

Thus, in a few words, we have tried to give an outline of the life and work of the most wonderful man of his age and we trust that it will serve to render the opinions and views of Wesley's contemporaries in the world of literature clearer and more intelligible than they might otherwise be.

Charles Wesley 1708—1788.

As we have already pointed out, the real founder of Methodism, that is the first who was called a Methodist, was the younger brother of the apostle of Methodism. That he never gained the same world-wide renown as his brother, is easily explained by his character. He was "the child of feeling and emotion, and John of intellect, who demanded a reason for everything".[1])

Born on Dec. 18th (OS.) 1708 he was sent to Westminster School, in 1716, and was elected to Christ Church, Oxford, in 1726. According to his own account he wasted the first year, but afterwards applied himself diligently to his studies, and graduated in

[1]) Life of Charles Wesley. By Thomas Jackson. London 1841, 2 vols.; cf. vol II. p. 24. The Centenary of Wesleyan Methodism. By the same. London 1839, p. 115.

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due course. It was in 1729 that the Oxford Methodists began to meet in order to exhort one another on matters of religion. Charles Wesley's stay in Georgia was but little longer than five months. He had been appointed Clerical Secretary to the Governor, but he became the innocent victim of a foul conspiracy, by means of which the former was for a time deceived. When it was too late, the plot was unravelled and the Governor did what he could to atone for the harsh treatment to which he had subjected Mr. Wesley. When the doctrine of salvation from sin by faith in the Lord Jesus Christ was first proposed to him by his brother, he was angry with him for departing from what they had been taught by Mr. Law. After passing through a serious illness, and after due consideration of the question, he concurred in sentiment with his brother and was actually the first to receive the blessing. Like his brother he began to preach the new doctrine and followed his example too in itinerating up and down the country. However, after the autumn of 1756, he ceased his labours as a travelling preacher, or at all events restricted his ministrations to Bristol and London. On the 6th April 1749 he married Sarah Gwynne, who was of a good Welsh family and with whom he passed a happy thirty-nine years. In spite of his Methodist principles, which excluded him from so many of the pulpits in the Church of England, he remained firm in his resolution never to separate from that church. In this he agreed with his brother, though he excelled him in his devotion to it. They disagreed on the subjects of spiritual darkness, and Christian perfection. The point, however, which caused an estrangement for a time was the ordination by John Wesley of preachers and especially of Dr. Coke as "superintendent" or "bishop" of the American Churches. With this point was very closely allied the difference between the two brothers on the subject of the administration of the sacraments. Charles was considered to be a better preacher than his brother, but was altogether wanting in the power of organisation. He is the poet of Methodism and it is by his sacred hymns that he is now principally known. He began to display his poetic talents at a very early age

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and it has been said that "from the time of his conversion till his fires were quenched in death, he thought, he breathed in sacred verse. His was not 'made poetry', but 'poetry that made itself'".[1]) His last years were passed in enfeebled health, and a cloud hung over his spirit because his younger son had gone over to the Church of Rome. He died on the 29th March 1788, aged seventy-nine, and at his own desire was buried in Marylebone Churchyard. This was a great disappointment to John Wesley, because he had hoped they would be buried together in City Road Chapel burial-ground. Charles had, however, objected to this, because it had not been consecrated by a bishop. Apart from the notices of Charles Wesley in the Lives of his brother, have been published separate Lives of the former by Dr. Whitehead (prefixed to his Life of John Wesley 1793) and by Thomas Jackson in 1841.

George Whitefield 1714—1770.

George Whitefield's name is just as inseparable from the early history of Methodism as are those of the two Wesleys. His principal biographers are: The Rev. John Gillies D. D. whose "Memoirs"[2]) appeared in 1772; Mr. Philip, who published his "Life and Times of Whitefield" in 1837, and finally, the Rev. L. Tyerman who wrote a Life of Whitefield in 1876—77.

George Whitefield was born at Gloucester on the 16th Dec. (OS.) 1714. His father kept an inn and died when George was but very young. The boy helped his mother to keep on the inn, but his education was not neglected. Between the years of twelve and fifteen he made good progress in the Latin Classics and at eighteen was sent to Oxford. Here he cultivated the acquaintance of the Methodists and was ordained

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[1]) Cf. Jackson's Centenary of Wesleyan Methodism, p. 116.

[2]) German translation: Leben Georg Whitfields. Nach dem Englischen von Dr. John Gillies, herausgegeben von Dr. A. Tholuck. Leipzig 1834.

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by Dr. Benson, Bishop of Gloucester, on Sunday June 20th 1736, when he was only in his twenty-second year. His very first sermon must have created a great impression, for it was complained of him that "it drove fifteen persons mad".[1]) He thus very soon gained for himself great popularity as a preacher, and embarked for Georgia towards the end of December 1737. He only remained there a few months, but succeeded, in that short time, in founding an Orphan House at Savannah, which always remained a child of his affections. On his return to London he conferred with the Moravians, and although he could not fall in with their way of expressing themselves, yet he fully accepted the doctrine of Justification by Faith in the imputed righteousness of Christ. He was the first Field Preacher, the chief scenes of his action being Moorfields, Kennington Common and Blackheath. In the year 1741 he separated himself from Wesley on the vexed question of Election. It is impossible to lay too much stress on this separation and the cause of it, for, as we have already mentioned, and as we shall repeatedly see in the course of our dissertation, it is so often just this doctrine or its consequences which are the subjects of ridicule or severe criticism. Even contemporary writers were very apt to overlook the difference between the two sections of Methodists and to treat them all as though this were a particularly methodistical teaching. An attempt at reconciliation was unsuccessful, except so far as the personal friendship of the two leaders of Methodism was concerned. The fact is that the two were quite differently constituted: Wesley's mind was severely didactic, while Whitefield's logic was in his heart rather than in his head.[2]) As a preacher he gained the favour even of some of the noblest, cleverest, and wittiest men of the Kingdom. The Countess of Huntingdon made him her Chaplain, and it was at her chapel that Chesterfield, Horace Walpole, Hume and Bolingbroke came to hear him. Chesterfield listened to him with delight and gave him one of

[1]) Cf. Whitefield's Works, vol. I. p. 19, Letter XVI.
[2]) Cf. Stevens' Methodism, vol. I. p. 149.

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his courtly compliments: "Sir, I will not tell you what I shall tell others, how I approve you". Walpole heard him with admiration, though his rampant wit trifled with him behind his back. Hume listened with wonder, and said he would go twenty miles to hear him. Bolingbroke complimented him, approved his Calvinism, and received his sermons and his visits; his brother, Lord St. John, became a convert and died in the hope of the Gospel.[1]) It should not be forgotten that one of the results of Whitefield's preaching in America, which certainly does not belong to the least important of them, was the founding of Princeton College, New Jersey. He crossed the Atlantic thirteen times, a feat, which even nowadays with our modern ocean-steamers still excites general surprise and admiration. His ascetic observances in his youth seem to have laid the foundation of the ill-health from which he suffered during the greater part of his life. In 1749 he sought relief in the Bermudas, but as early as 1761 he was reduced almost to extremity and expected death, and for the first time in his ministerial career he did not preach for several weeks. He, however, still continued his "ranging", though with interruptions, until he passed away, as he had always desired, in the midst of his work. He died at Newburyport near Boston in New England from an attack of asthma on the 30th September 1770. He was buried according to his own desire in the Presbyterian Church of the town where he died. His old friend Wesley preached a funeral sermon both in Tottenham Court and in the Tabernacle in Moorfields.

It was under these three great leaders, assisted by the hearty co-operation of a number of earnest fellow-workers, that Methodism grew and spread until it became an undeniable factor in the world's history.

The doctrines of Methodism as especially preached by John Wesley can be given most succinctly as they are expressed by the apostle of Methodism himself in his Minute at the Conference of 1770[2]):

[1]) Cf. Stevens' Methodism, vol. I. p. 167 and p. 474.

[2]) Cf. ib. vol. II. p. 411.

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"*Justification* is distinguished from Regeneration only logically. It is a relative fact — a work done for us rather than in us — the pardon of sin, whereby the relation of the Sinner to the Divine law is changed, and he is recognised, through the Atonement, as no longer guilty, but just, and has peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ."

"*Regeneration* is a work wrought by the Holy Spirit in the believing soul, whereby it passes from death unto life, and receiving "the spirit of adoption", enters into communion with God."

Sanctification, as a doctrine, received peculiar illustration and enforcement from Wesley. "It is the purification of the believer subsequently to regeneration. It is usually gradual; it may be instantaneous, as, like justification, it is received by faith." According to Wesley, sanctification "begins when we begin to believe, and as faith increases, holiness increases". This experience, he taught, should be sought at once and may be the privilege of every believer. This is Wesley's doctrine of Perfection, which was so often the cause of misunderstandings between him and his friends, not to speak of his adversaries.

As regards the moral conduct of the members, the strict rules which they took upon themselves to observe, and the impartiality with which they were enforced, are sufficient answers to many of the charges that were brought against the Methodists as a body. Here again is a marked difference between the preacher Whitefield and the organiser Wesley. The former never kept his followers together by forming bands and classes, and it is said that he regretted his mistake in after years when it was too late. Among the things to be avoided by every member of the societies were the profaning of the Day of the Lord, drunkenness, buying or selling spirituous liquors, or drinking them, unless in cases of extreme necessity, fighting, selling or buying of uncustomed goods, all evil speaking, and the taking of such diversions as cannot be used in the name of the Lord Jesus. Every body was expected to do good especially by visiting the sick, to attend the ordinances of God, to hold family and private prayer,

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not to marry an unbeliever, to guard against formality public worship and on no account to call another heret bigot or any other disrespectful name.[1]) Wesley was, howev broad enough to admit anyone as member who expressed desire to flee from the wrath to come, to be saved from l sins. Another proof of Wesley's broad heart may be se in the letter he addressed to all the evangelical clergy of th Church of England, with the hope that they might all fin some principles in common, along the lines of which the might work in harmony. Union should only depend on thre essentials: I. Original Sin. II. Justification by Faith. III. Holi ness of Heart and Life; providing their life be answerabl to their doctrine. This circular letter was sent to about fifty evangelical clergymen, but to Wesley's great disappointment only three condescended to return an answer.[2])

In spite of the severest opposition from all quarters, Methodism continued to grow. We perhaps cannot conclude this introductory sketch better than by quoting a few statistics of its progress during Wesley's life-time. In the year 1767. in the United Kingdom, there were 41 circuits, 104 preachers and 25,911 members[3]); in 1790, the year before Wesley's death, the Methodist circuits throughout the world numbered 240, the preachers 541, and the members 134,549.[4])

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[1]) Cf. The Nature, Design and General Rules of the Methodist Societies established by the Rev. John Wesley. London 1798.

[2]) Cf. Wesley's Journals, April 1764, vol III. p. 169 ff.; Tyerman vol. II. p. 509 ff.

[3]) Tyerman vol. II. p. 609.

[4]) Ib. vol. III. p. 620.

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Methodism in the Light of English Literature.

I. Methodism in the Drama.

We cannot imagine a religious subject of this kind being put upon the boards except for the purpose of ridicule and satire. Consequently we can only expect to find the Methodist Movement presented to the public in the most unfavourable light, especially as the Methodists, like the Puritans of the Commonwealth, were decided and open enemies of the Theatre. As a proof of this it is only necessary to read a letter written by John Wesley himself and quoted by Tyerman (vol. II. p. 514). This letter is dated Dec. 20th 1764 and is addressed to the mayor and corporation of Bristol with the object of trying to dissuade them from carrying out a proposal to build a new playhouse, which, he says, had given him and his brother great concern, "and that on various accounts: not barely as most of the present stage entertainments sap the foundation of all religion, as they naturally tend to efface all traces of piety and seriousness out of the minds of men; but as they are peculiarly hurtful to a trading city; giving a wrong turn to youth especially, gay, trifling, and directly opposite to the spirit of industry and close application to business; and as drinking and debauchery of every kind are constant attendants on these entertainments, with indolence, effeminacy, and idleness, which affect trade in a high degree."

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In perusing the theatrical literature of the period one is struck by the fact that playwriters as a rule seem to have avoided any reference to the Methodists, as indeed to religion generally, even in comedies and farces. There appears to have been a deep-rooted feeling of respect for anything sacred which prevented profane use being made of religion in any shape or form. This was perhaps not one of the least merits due to David Garrick (1716—1779) who for nearly thirty years was the chief authority in theatre matters and who brought about quite a revolution by his constant efforts to purify the stage, especially by popularising Shakespeare. He was always very fearful of offending individuals by anything that was performed at his theatre [1]). Hence it is not to be wondered at that no references to the Methodists are to be found in his own plays. The only mention we have found of these people by Garrick is in one of his epigrams for which he was celebrated. Quin, the most renowned tragedian of the day, was so jealous of young Garrick's attracting such great crowds to Goodmansfield that he gave vent to his indignation by saying: "This is the wonder of a day; Garrick is a new religion; the people follow him as another Whitfield, but they will soon return to church again". Garrick's sharp retort was: —

"Pope Quin, who damns all Churches but his own,
Complains that Heresy infects the town;
That Whitfield Garrick has misled the age,
And taints the sound religion of the Stage:
'Schism', he cries, 'has turned the Nation's brain;
But eyes will open, and to Church again'!
Thou great infallible, forbear to roar,
Thy Bulls and Errors are rever'd no more;
When doctrines meet with general approbation,
It is not Heresy, but Reformation." [2])

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[1]) The only exception was Bickerstaffe's "Hypocrite" in the year 1768.

[2]) Cf. The Private Correspondence of David Garrick. London 1831—32, 2 vols. Biographical Memoir p. XIII.

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This epigram was written in October 1741 and is thus one of the earliest references we have in polite literature to the Methodist Movement. If we are allowed to judge of Garrick's opinion of this religious revival from this reference, it is quite evident that he believed their success was a clear proof they were doing the work to which they had been called. Like Gamaliel of old he seems to have considered it was better not to oppose them, for "if this work be of men, it will come to nought, but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it; lest haply ye be found to fight against God". (Acts V. 38. 39.)

Apart from this expression of opinion, which, to say the least, is not unfavourable to the Methodists, the only tendency at all represented in the works of the contemporaneous dramatists is one of opposition, and that of the most extreme phase. The principal play written with the express purpose of ridiculing this religious movement, was Samuel Foote's (1720—1777) "Minor". This writer was comedian, dramatist, actor and humorist, but was only successful as a mimic.

"The Minor" was first produced at the Crow Street Theatre, Dublin, Jan. 28th 1760. In its first shape it was a failure, but became a great success after it had been altered, being performed at the Haymarket for 38 nights running. In the hope of obtaining for it the stamp of authority from the State Church, Foote was so bold as to send the manuscript to the Archbishop of Canterbury with a request that he would excise or alter whatever was objectionable. It was returned untouched, the archbishop shrewdly surmising that Foote wished to advertise it as "corrected and prepared for the press by his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury".[1]) Foote himself played the parts of Shift, Smirk and Mrs. Cole. The plot of this farce is in short as follows: —

The "Minor", a young scapegrace and spendthrift, who had been living for several years in France and Germany, has just returned to his native country where he is given to understand that his father is dead. The latter, however, Sir

[1]) Correspondence of Garrick, vol. I. p. 120.

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William Wealthy by name, assumes the character of a French baron, and associates himself with his son as a boon companion. Sir William's brother, Mr. Richard Wealthy, who is a rich merchant, acts as guardian to his nephew Sir George (the minor) and constantly upbraids him with his loose conduct, while, at the same time, he reproaches his brother for his method of educating his son. Sir William contrives to get his son into great difficulties in money affairs in order to appear at the critical moment in his capacity of father to discharge all debts. The *dénouement*, however, is brought about sooner than the father intends, in consequence of the accomplice, Shirk, revealing to Sir George that he is the subject of a plot. The latter thereupon charges his father and his accomplices with being rogues and sharpers, and hands them over to the constables. Explanations are then made and the farce ends to the complete satisfaction of all concerned. Sir George begs permission to marry his pretty cousin after having providentially been the guardian of her honour without knowing who she was. This poor girl had been turned out of her home by her father because she would not consent to marry the man of his choice. Accident places her in a house the mistress of which is a methodist.

"There,"[1]) to use the girl's own words, *"as enthusiasm is the child of melancholy, I caught the infection. A constant attendance on their assemblies procured me the acquaintance of this woman* (i. e. Mrs. Cole, the hypocrite and pimp who had finally succeeded in bringing her to Sir George), *whose extraordinary zeal and devotion first drew my attention and confidence. I trusted her with my story, and in return, received the warmest invitation to take the protection of her house. This, I unfortunately accepted. By the decency of her appearances,"* so she continues in her appeal to Sir George to spare her, *"I was some time imposed upon. But an accident, which you will excuse my repeating, reveal'd all the horror of my situation. I will not trouble you with a recital of all the arts us'd to seduce me. Happily they hitherto have failed. But this morning I was acquainted with*

[1]) Cf. Foote's Plays. London 1778—97, 3 vols.; vol. II. "The Minor" Act III, p. 69 ff.

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my destiny; and no other election left me, but immediate compliance, or a jail. In this desperate condition, you cannot wonder, Sir, at my choosing rather to rely on the generosity of a gentleman than the humanity of a creature insensible to pity and void of every virtue."

Sir George, touched by her story, was converted from being the spoiler of her honour to be the protector of her innocence. The woman who had thus so shamefully tried to entice this girl to evil was Mrs. Cole, who is represented as being a regular attender at the meetings held at the Tabernacle of Tottenham-Court. The following quotations together with the fact that her profession was that of a procuress, will be sufficient to show the light in which the writer of the farce intended, in the person of this monster of a woman, to present the adherents of the new sect to the play-going world: —

Dick (man-servant to Sir George). *She* (Mrs. Cole) *bade me say, she had just stopt on her way to the tabernacle; after the exhortations, she says, she'll call again.*

Sir Geo. *Exhortation! Oh, I recollect: Well, whilst they only make proselytes from that profession, they are heartily welcome to them. — She does not mean to make me a convert?*

Dick. *I believe she has some such design upon me; for she offer'd me a book of hymns, a shilling and a dram, to go along with her.*

Sir Geo. *No bad scheme, Dick. Thou hast a fine sober, psalm-singing countenance; and when thou hast been some time in their trammels, may make as able a teacher as the best of 'em.*

Dick. *Laud, Sir, I want learning.*

Sir Geo. *Oh, the spirit, the spirit will supply all that, Dick, never fear.*[1])

Again, Mrs. Cole when in conversation with Sir George and Mr. Loader, after complaining about her rhumatism, expresses herself as follows: —

"No, no, I am worn out, thrown by and forgotten, like a tattered garment, as Mr. Squintum[2]) *says. Oh, he is a dear*

[1]) Act I, p. 33.

[2]) A take off on Mr. Whitefield.

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man! But for him I had been a lost sheep; never known the comforts of the new birth; no!" — and then in the same breath she continues: *"There's your old friend, Kitty Carrot, at home still. When shall we see you this evening? I have kept the green room for you ever since I heard you were in town."* [1]) On Mr. Loader asking for some Burgundy she says: *"I have done with these idle vanities: my thoughts are fixed upon a better place. — What, I suppose, Mr. Loader, you will be for your old friend, the black-ey'd girl, from Rosemary-lane. Ha, ha! Well, 'tis a merry little tit. A thousand pities she's such a reprobate! — But she'll mend; her time is not come yet; all shall have their call, as Mr. Squintum says, sooner or later; regeneration is not the work of a day."* [2])

Again we read: Mrs. Cole. *Mercy on us where do you expect to go when you die, Mr. Loader?*

Loader. *Crop me, but this Squintum has turn'd her brains.*

Sir Geo. *Nay, Mr. Loader, I think the gentleman has wrought a most happy reformation.*

Mrs. Cole. *Oh, it was a wonderful work. There had I been tossing in a sea of sin, without rudder or compass. And had not the poor gentleman piloted me into the harbour of grace, I must have struck against the rocks of reprobation, and have been quite swallow'd up in the whirlpool of despair. He was the precious instrument of my spiritual sprinkling. — But, however, Sir George, if your mind be set upon a young country thing, to-morrow night I believe I can furnish you.* [3])

She further says: *"At one time I thought of dying a Roman, which is truly a comfortable communion for one of us, but it wou'd not do.*

Sir Geo. *Why not?*

Mrs. Cole. *I went one summer over to Boulogne to repent; and wou'd you believe it, the bare-footed bald-pate beggars would not give me absolution, without I quitted my business —*

Sir Geo. *Oh, scandalous!* . . .

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[1]) Act I, p. 38.
[2]) Act I, p. 39.
[3]) Act I, p. 41 f.

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Mrs. Cole. *So in my last illness I was wish'd to Mr. Squintum, who stept in with his saving grace, got me with the new birth, and I became, as you see, regenerate, and another creature."* [1])

On Mrs. Cole's exit, Sir George exclaims: — *"Ha, ha, what a hodge-podge! How the jade has jumbled together the carnal and the spiritual; with what ease she reconciles her new birth to her old calling! — No wonder these preachers have plenty of proselytes, whilst they have the address so comfortably to blend the hitherto jarring interests of the two worlds."* [2])

At the *dénouement* Mrs. Cole is received by Sir George with the following scathing words: — *"... Abominable hypocrite! who tottering under the load of irreverent age and infamous diseases, inflexibly proceed in the practice of every vice, impiously prostituting the most sacred institutions to the most infernal purposes."* [3]) —

In the Introduction Foote represents himself discussing with two friends, Smart and Canker, the subject of his next farce i. e. of the "Minor", whereby he takes the opportunity of publishing his reasons for thus attacking the Methodists.

Foote. *I may produce something that may hit your palate.*

Smart. *Your bill of fare?*

Foote. *What think you of those itinerant field orators, who tho' at declared enmity with common sense, have the address to poison the principles, and at the same time pick the pockets of half our industrious fellow subjects?*

Cank. *Have a care. Dangerous ground. Ludere cum sacris, you know.*

Foote. *Now I look upon it in a different manner. I consider these gentlemen in the light of public performers, like myself, and whether we exhibit at Tottenham-court, or the Haymarket, our purpose is the same, and the place is immaterial.*

Cank. *Why indeed, if it be considered —*

Foote. *Nay, more, I must beg leave to assert, that ridicule is the only antidote against this pernicious poison. This is a*

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[1]) Act I, p. 42 f.
[2]) Act I, p. 44.
[3]) Act III, p. 73.

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madness that argument can never cure: and should a little wholesome severity be applied, persecution would be the immediate cry; where then can we have recourse, but to the comic muse, perhaps the archness and severity of her smile may redress an evil, that the laws cannot reach, or reason reclaim.[1])

Foote was not content to ridicule the Methodists in one farce. He seized every opportunity that offered itself. Besides the "Minor" we find allusions and references to the sect in nine of his other plays. Taking them chronologically the next reference we meet with is in "The Lyar" (performed Jan. 12th 1762). Young Wilding and his valet de chambre, Papillion, are engaged in conversation, the latter giving an account of his past.

Y. Wild. *What was your next change?*

Pap. *I was mightily puzzled to choose. Some would have had me turn player, and others methodist preacher; but as I had no money to build me a tabernacle, I did not think it could answer; and as to player — whatever might happen to me, I was determined not to bring disgrace upon my family, and so I resolved to turn footman.*[2])

In the same year appeared the "Orators", in which occurs a scene in a Hall of Justice. An imaginary charge is instituted against Fanny Phantom, the phantom of Cock-lane. Shadrach Bodkin is called up as a witness, and in the cross-examination is drawn out to say that he had often heard "the scratchings and knockings" of the ghost, and to assert that the spirit within him compelled him to do things.

Counsellor. *When did you first feel these spiritual motions?*

Bod. *In the town of Norwich, where I was born; — one day as I was sitting cross-legged on my shop-board, new seating a cloth pair of breeches of Mr. Alderman Crape's — I felt the spirit within me, moving upwards and downwards, and this way and that way, and tumbling and jumbling — at first I thought it was the colic —*

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[1]) Introd. p. 13 f.

[2]) Vol. III. "The Lyar" Act I, p. 10.

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Couns. *And how are you certain it was not?*

Bod. *At last I heard a voice whispering within me, crying 'Shadrach, Shadrach, Shadrach, cast away the things that belong to thee, thy thimble and shears, and do the things that I bid thee.*

After several indecent allusions the sergeant gets impatient and asks: *"But to what do all those interrogatories tend?"* [1])

Another witness, a Mr. Paragraph, is brought forward and interrogated. Among other things he accuses Bodkin of having communicated scratchings to a rival publisher after he himself had bought all the materials from the girl's father. He calls Bodkin: *"a lying son of a wh—e and a rascally Methodist"*. The latter makes his escape under the anathemas of the enraged publisher who threatens that he will have justice or turn his (Bodkin's) tabernacle into a pigstye. [2])

In the year 1763 appeared "The Mayor of Garratt" in which occurs the following conversation: —

Major. *Pray, Sir Jacob, is Matthew Marrow-bone, the butcher of your town, living or dead?*

Sir Jacob. *Living.*

Major. *And swears as much as he used to?*

Sir Jac. *An alter'd man, Major; not an oath comes out of his mouth.*

Major. *You surprise me; why, when he frequented our town of a market-day, he has taken out a guinea in oaths — and quite changed?*

Sir Jac. *Entirely; they say his wife has made him a Methodist, and that he preaches at Kennington-Common.*

Major. *What a deal of mischief those rascals do in the country — Why then we have entirely lost him?*

Sir Jac. *In that way; but I got a brace of bind-overs from him last week for a couple of bastards.*

Major. *Well done, master Matthew.* [3])

The fifth play in which Foote ridicules the Methodists

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[1]) Vol. II. "The Orators" Act II, p. 41 f.
[2]) Act II, p. 43 ff.
[3]) Vol. II. "The Mayor of Garratt" Act I, p. 15 f.

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is "The Devil upon Two Sticks", a comedy in three acts, which was first performed on the 30th of May 1768. Two lovers who have escaped from Madrid by the mediation of the Devil find themselves transported to London, where the latter shows them the rottenness of society, especially the corrupted state of the apothecaries and doctors. At the close, when the Devil feels himself recalled to Madrid by the irresistible spell of the magician by whom he had been confined in a bottle until released by the lovers — Le Sage's well-known story —, the lovers ask him what they are to do in a country where they are unknown and of which they do not know the customs. After proposing several trades and professions in which the Devil says they might succeed, but to which the lover replies that he cannot submit because they are so dishonest, the Devil says: *"I think you are rather too squeamish. What say you then, to a little spiritual quackery?*

Invoice. *Spiritual?*

Devil. *Oh, Sir, there are in this town mountebanks for the mind as well as for the body. How should you like mounting a cart on a common, and becoming a Methodist preacher?*

Inv. *Can that scheme turn to account?*

Devil. *Nothing better: Believe me, the absolute direction of the persons and purses of a large congregation, however low their conditions and callings, is by no means a contemptible object. I, for my part can say, what the Conqueror said to the Cynic: "If I was not Alexander, I would be Diogenes": So, if I was not the Devil, I would chuse to be a Methodist Preacher.*

Inv. *But then the restraint, the forms, I shall be obliged to observe.*

Devil. *None at all: There is in the whole catalogue but one sin you need be at all shy of committing.*

Inv. *What's that?*

Devil. *Simony.*

Inv. *Simony! I don't comprehend you.*

Devil. *Simony, Sir, is a new kind of canon, devised by these upstart fanatics, that makes it sinful not to abuse the confidence, and piously plunder the little property, of an indigent man and his family.*

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Inv. *A most noble piece of casuistical cookery, and exceeds even the sons of Ignatius! But this honour I must beg to decline".*[1])

The devil then proposes the stage. He says that the several arts of the drama are no longer under his direction, but that they are directed by the Genius of Insipidity. However, he recommends Foote's new playhouse in the Haymarket of which he says: *"Oh, that's an eccentric narrow establishment, a mere summer fly! He! But, however, it may do for a coup d'essai, and prove no bad foundation for a future engagement."* [2])

In the "Maid of Bath" which was first performed on the 26th of June 1771, Sir Christopher Cripple, a visitor at Bath, reproaches his friend Major Rackett with being the cause of his having lost caste, and vows reform in order to recover his credit. Among other things he says: — *"I am determined besides to hire a house in Harlequin Road and be a constant hearer at the countess's chapel."* Rackett interposes: — *"And, perhaps, turn out a field preacher in time.*

Sir Chris. *I don't know but I may".*[3])

The countess here referred to is Lady Huntingdon who had entered heart and soul into the Methodist cause, or more exactly, the cause of the Calvinistic Methodists, for whom she founded and maintained a theological institute at Trevecca in South Wales, and appointed Mr. Whitefield to be her chaplain.

In the following year (1772), on the 29th of June, the first performance of the "Nabob" took place, in which this species of exotic plant in England was ridiculed and held up to public contempt. Sir Matthew Mite is visited by an old schoolfellow of the Blue Coat School, who reminds him of some of the pranks of his youth, e. g.: *"One fifth of November I shall never forget! how you frightened a preaching methodist taylor, by throwing a cracker into his pulpit.*

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[1]) Vol. III. "The Devil upon Two Sticks" Act III, p. 53 f.
[2]) Act III, p. 57.
[3]) Vol. I. "The Maid of Bath" Act I, p. 8.

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Mite. *Another pretty exploit!*

Putty. *At every bounce, how poor Stitch capered and jumped!*" [1])

In "A Trip to Calais" (1776), in speaking to the Colonel of her mistress's character, Hetty says: *"Why, then, as to this lady of ours; in hypocrisy she would be an overmatch for a Methodist."* [2]) And again in the "Capuchin" (altered from the "Trip to Calais") Mrs. Clack is made to say: *"The young jade whines about fasting and penance like a Methodist teacher, and talks of embracing poverty, as if she was a peer of the realm".* [3])

The last of Foote's plays that we have to notice is "The Author" which was performed for the first time at Drury Lane in 1782. Mr. Vamp, a bookseller, visits young Cape, the author, in his garret at the time when the latter's friend Sprightly is with him. This friend is introduced as being a voluminous author, whereupon they enter into a conversation, in the course of which Vamp says: — *"No, no, I don't deal in the Sermon Way, now; I lost money by the last I printed, for all 'twas wrote by a Methodist."* [4])

We have thus passed in review all the passages in Foote's plays and farces that ridicule or have any reference to our subject. [5]) He was very prolific in writing for the stage and wrote eleven [6]) more plays in which he did not find an opportunity of giving vent to his assumed indignation at the Methodists. He spares no one who has anything to do with them, neither young nor old, neither high nor low, neither

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[1]) Vol. I. "The Nabob" Act III, p. 58.

[2]) Ib. "A Trip to Calais" Act III, p. 66.

[3]) Ib. Act III, p. 126.

[4]) Vol. II. "The Author" Act I, p. 14.

[5]) Cf. Appendix, Note A., p. 159.

[6]) The "Biographia Dramatica", (vol. I. part 1. p. 247) mentions seven more which we have not seen, three of which were never printed.

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people nor preachers. Yet in spite of himself he has occasionally a word or two which may be taken to favour the movement rather than otherwise, e. g. in the "Maid of Bath", where Sir Christopher's last resource of reform is to turn Methodist. In the "Mayor of Garratt" too it is admitted that Matthew Marrow-bone, the butcher, from being a great swearer has "learnt to swear no more" through his having turned Methodist, which according to the Scriptures is one of the signs of a man having entered upon a changed life. Foote, however, seems only to have made this concession in order to make the contrast all the more striking and the man all the greater hypocrite by a suggestion that he is leading an immoral life. Indeed, this would-be humorist takes a special delight in making out that the Methodists generally were the most immoral of any class, and would make his hearers and readers believe that this despicable standard of morals was the natural consequence of the doctrines they held and preached. Even supposing that his characters were really drawn from life, it is certain they must have been the black sheep of the flock, and what religious sect or party of any kind is free from such? This way of representing things, is, on the face of it, unfair, and the more so in this case, because Foote's performances were very popular [1]) and drew large crowds of playgoers, whereby he was making an unjustifiable use of his great powers of mimicry. The opinions of such a man are very useful in trying to get a correct general view of such a movement as the one in question, because they are the expression of the extreme opposition, but they cannot have much weight in forming an unbiassed opinion, especially when we take into account the general tenor of his life combined with the character given him by his contemporaries. Of these it is here only necessary perhaps to quote two. In Boswell's Life of Johnson (Croker's Edition, 1831, vol. III. p. 320) we read the celebrated doctor's opinion of Foote drastically expressed in a single line: "Foote is most impartial, for he tells lies of everybody". The other author

[1]) Cf. Appendix, Note B., p. 159.

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and poet we will quote is the unfortunate Chatterton who also seems to hit the nail on the head when he says in his Elegy on "February": —

"Now, Foote, a looking-glass for all mankind,
Applies his wax to personal defects;
But leaves untouch'd the image of the mind,
His art no mental quality reflects".[1])

Foote often got himself into trouble for his personal skits, nor did he spare even his friends. We agree with the writer of the preface to the "Minor" as published in Bell's Collection of plays entitled the "British Theatre" [2]) and published in the year 1792, when he says: — "It is at all times dangerous to attack any mode of piety, but true devotion suffered little, it is believed, on the present occasion."

Though the "Minor" was seen and applauded by thousands, the indignation of religious people was aroused and swarms of articles and pamphlets went forth in denunciation of the author of such profanity. Foote had the impudence to defend himself and that in such coarse and vulgar language that we prefer rather simply to mention his reply or refer to the specimens of his ribaldry as quoted by Tyerman (vol. II. p. 368), who also cites Everett's Folio (vol. III p. 451), where we learn that Foote continued mocking the Methodists until the day of his death, for he was suddenly seized with his mortal illness while mimicking religious characters in general and the Methodists in particular, and almost immediately expired.

Another playwriter took upon himself to ridicule hypocrites of all religious classes in general and the sect of Methodists in particular. This was Isaac Bickerstaffe (1735—1812?), [3]) who as far as can be ascertained passed the

[1]) Cf. Chalmers' English Poets, vol. XV. p. 454.

[2]) Vol. XVIII. p. 5.

[3]) Uncertain. Cf. Stephen's Dict. of Nat. Biogr. vol. V. Article: Bickerstaffe (Isaac).

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last forty years of his life abroad in wretched circumstances. His play in question is called "The Hypocrite",[1]) (1768) being a comedy altered from Colley Cibber's "Non-Juror" (1717) which in its turn was borrowed from Molière's "Tartuffe". The character of Maw-worm was especially introduced by Bickerstaffe for the comedian Mr. Weston. In Murphy's "Life of Garrick" (vol. II. p. 82) the compiler characterises this play as follows: "Bickerstaffe would have done well to respect a superior genius and to have reserved Maw-worm for some original work of his own. The crab cannot be grafted on the laurel-tree. And yet, "The Hypocrite" under the patronage of the manager [Garrick] had a run of twelve or thirteen nights; we trust never more to rise again." Leslie Stephen in his "National Biography" makes no mention of this play, but does refer to the unkind expressions made use of by Bickerstaffe in reference to the stage-manager David Garrick, and supposes that the latter had refused to accept one of Bickerstaffe's plays. This, if true, was very ungrateful on the part of Bickerstaffe after the success he had gained with the help of Garrick for "The Hypocrite".

The following specimen will suffice to display Maw-worm the Methodist's character.

Old Lady Lambert (= Molière's Madame Pernelle). *But what is the matter with you, Mr. Maw-worm?*

Maw. *I don't know what's the matter with me — I'm a breaking my heart, — I think it's a sin to keep a shop.*

Old Lady L. *Why, if you think it is a sin, indeed — pray, what's your business?*

Maw. *We deals in grocery, tea, small-beer, charcoal, butter, brick-dust and the like.*

Old Lady L. *Well; you must consult with your friendly director here.*

Maw. *I wants to go a preaching.*

Old Lady L. *Do you?*

Maw. *I'm almost sure I have had a call.*

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[1]) Cf. Biographia Dramatica, vol. II. p. 317; Tyerman vol. III. p. 35.

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Old Lady L. *Ay!*

Maw. *I does them extrumpery, because I cann't write; and now the devils in our alley says, as how my head's turned.*

Old Lady L. *Ay, devils indeed, — but don't you mind them.*

Maw. *No, I don't — I rebukes them and preaches to them, whether they will or not. We lets our house in lodgings to single men; and sometimes I gets them together, with one or two of the neighbours, and makes them all cry.*

Old Lady L. *Did you ever preach in public?*

Maw. *I got up on Kennington Common the last review day, but the boys threw brick-bats at me, and pinned crackers to my tail; and I have been afraid to mount ever since ...*

Old Lady L. *But how do you mind your business?*

Maw. *We have lost almost all our customers, because I keeps extorting them whenever thay come into the shop* etc. etc.[1])

Dr. Cantwell (Molière's Tartuffe) under whose influence this wretched fellow stands, is a much more despicable and dangerous character because he tries to conceal his hypocrisy under the specious cloak of a dignified and unctuous righteousness. We shall, we think, not be very far from the truth in supposing that Bickerstaffe had either Mr. Whitefield or Mr. Wesley in his mind when he worked out this repulsive part of his play. This point can, however, never be determined with any amount of certainty, for the compiler himself has made that impossible by what he says in the preface to this play as published in the edition (1792) of the "British Theatre". His words are: — "Among the audiences of the present day the Cantwell of this piece will be variously attributed through the whole circle of fanatics, as one sect or another may from personal motives have become obnoxious to the spectator. Happy is the writer to say, that he does not imagine any one can be found, who will liken this odious being to any Member of our liberal and enlightened National Church." But it has been said that the character of Mawworm seems to be more particularly intended to ridicule the sect of the Methodists. If we accept this view, it follows as

[1]) Cf. British Theatre, vol. XV. "The Hypocrite" Act II, p. 5.

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a matter of course that the Doctor who had so much influence over him must also have been one of the leaders of the same sect.

As in the case of Samuel Foote's plays there is nothing here that can be seriously taken to affect the Methodists as a body. The insinuations and innuendos raised against these people only concern individuals, for whose wicked and immoral conduct it is unfair to charge the doctrines preached by that sect. That such men did go in and out among the Methodists and even act as preachers and assistants we know from contemporary history as well as from John Wesley's own letters. Of this Westley Hall, John Wesley's own brother-in-law and preacher at Salisbury, is a glaring example. But we also know that he and many others, even those whose offences were virtues when compared to the licentiousness of Hall, were at once disowned by the Methodists, and their names struck out of the list of members. John Wesley was constantly examining both preachers and members with a view to sifting out those who were a discredit to their fellow-methodists or who did not carry the principles of the gospel into their daily lives.

References to the Methodists in the plays and farces of Henry Fielding (1707—1754) are conspicuous by their absence, as is also the case with his contemporary and rival in the sphere of novel-writing, Tobias Smollett. Fielding has only one reference to this sect in all his plays, of which he wrote two dozen. This is, however, a very early allusion, perhaps the first in all the contemporary polite literature of the day, certainly the first on the stage. The farce in which it occurs is called "Miss Lucy in Town", a sequel to "The Virgin Unmasked" [1]), and must have been written between the years 1737 and 1742, for it was first performed at Drury Lane on May 5th

[1]) Written in 1734.

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1742, and had been written long before.[1]) In this farce the following conversation takes place between a certain Lord Bawble and Mrs. Midnight, a pimp: —

Baw. *So, old Midnight, what schemes art thou plodding on?*

Mid. *O fie! my lord; I protest if sir Thomas and you don't leave off your riots, you will ruin the reputation of my house for ever. I wonder you have no more regard to your own characters.*

Baw. *Why, thou old canting offspring of hypocrisy, dost thou think that men of quality are to be confined to the rules of decency, like sober citizens, as if they were ashamed of their sins, and afraid they should lose their turn of being lord mayor?*

Mid. *We ought all to be ashamed of our sins. O my lord, my lord, had you but heard that excellent sermon on Kennington-common, it would have made you ashamed; I am sure it had so good an effect upon me, that I shall be ashamed of my sins as long as I live.*

Baw. *Why don't you leave them off then, and lay down your house?*

Mid. *Alas, I can't, I can't; I was bred up in the way: but I repent heartily; I repent every hour of my life; and that I hope will make amends.*

Baw. *Well, where is my Jenny Ranter?*

Mid. *Ah, poor Jenny! Poor Jenny is gone. I shall never see her more; she was the best of girls: it almost breaks my tender heart to think on't; nay, I shall never outlive her loss* (crying). *My lord, sir Thomas and you forgot to pay for that bowl of punch last night.*

Baw. *D—n your punch! is my dear Jenny dead?*

Mid. *Worse, if possible. She is — she is turned methodist, and married to one of the brethren.*

Baw. *O, if that be all, we shall soon have her again.*

Mid. *Alas! I fear not; for they are powerful men ...*[2])

Though Fielding never showed himself favourably disposed towards the Methodists, he does not always represent

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[1]) Cf. Dict. of Nat. Biogr. vol. XVIII. Art. Fielding (Henry).

[2]) Fielding's Works, ed. by Roscoe. London 1840, p. 1072.

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the "brethren" to be such fickle, weak-minded people and so easily induced to become renegades as his lordship would here make them out to be. It is, however, in his novels that he treats of the Methodists more fully and there it is that his opinions on the subject are to be sought.[1])

To the above plays we may add[2]) a comedy which we have not been able to procure, but which is criticised in the "Monthly Review" for July 1778,[3]) and referred to by Tyerman.[4]) This is "The Gospel Shop, a Comedy of Five Acts, with a New Prologue and Epilogue. Originally intended for public Representation, but suppressed at the particular Desire of some eminent Divines. By R. Hill Esq. of Cambridge".

The reviewer is disgusted at the author, who is so dull and illiterate, having the vanity to call the performance a comedy. He says that it only reflects disgrace on the wretched writer himself. The name given in the title, he asserts, carries fiction in its very face. The motto on the same page may serve to show how infamous the whole performance is: —

"Beware! these dire illusions! strange to tell,
A gospel shop's the very spawn of hell!"

We thus see that the proportion of plays written with the special object of mocking the Methodists is really exceedingly small, if we may judge by the number of plays that were published in the two collections, "The British Theatre" and "English Comedies" (1791—1793), the former comprising twenty-two and the latter nine volumes. The best and most respected playwriters of the times, Aaron Hill, Colley Cibber, Glover, Colman, Cumberland, Murphy, Goldsmith and Brinsley Sheridan, did not condescend to defile their hands by libelling the new sect of enthusiasts, whatever they may have thought of them personally. This

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[1]) Cf. below p. 141 ff.
[2]) Cf. also Appendix, Note C., p. 159 f.
[3]) Art. XXII. p. 71.
[4]) Vol. III. p. 362.

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is, of course, no proof that they were even in the slightest degree favourably disposed towards them, but only that they did not consider the stage the proper place for expressing their opinions on religious topics.

To be historically faithful we cannot conclude this part of our subject without referring to an anonymous play which coming last is also to be least noticed because it is almost too coarse and low even to be worthy of quotation. This is a comedy called "The Methodist",[1]) which was advertised in 1761 as being a "Continuation and Completion of the plan of the 'Minor' written by Mr. Foote etc. 3rd edit. London", but which according to the "Biographia Dramatica",[2]) is a most impudent catchpenny of Israel Pottinger,[3]) and which is also ascribed to this same Pottinger in the advertisement of plays printed for W. Lowndes in the tenth edition of Foote's plays, printed in London, 1789. All we know of this Pottinger is that he was the author of a comedy called "Duenna", published in 1776 without name and perhaps also of a "Tale in Verse", called the "Methodist and the Mimic", which we shall have occasion to mention in its proper place. We have not been able to procure a copy of the "Methodist", but Tyerman[4]) gives two or three quotations from it, adding that Foote durst not act it. Whitefield's "countenance is not only inexpressive, but ludicrous; his dialect is not only provincial, but barbarous; his deportment not only awkward, but savage". Whitefield himself, in his boyhood, "was dull, stupid, and heavy, totally incapable of attending to the business of his mother's public-house, though he had the credit of inventing the practice of soaping the tops of the pewter pots to diminish the quantity of liquor, and to increase and sustain the froth".

This special reference to George Whitefield, the head and leader of the Calvinistic Methodists reminds us that the ridicule and ribaldry aimed at the followers of the Methodistic movement in the above mentioned plays are intended most

[1]) Cf. Appendix, Note D., p. 160.
[2]) Vol. I. part 1. p. 580.
[3]) Cf. Dict. of Nat. Biogr. vol. XIX. Art. Foote (Samuel).
[4]) Vol. II. p. 368.

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especially for Whitefield and his friends rather than for Wesley and his. The division which took place as early as 1741 between Wesley and Whitefield on the doctrine of Predestination, which the latter firmly held and preached, should never be overlooked in trying to obtain a correct view of the way in which the Methodist movement is reflected on the stage and in the polite literature generally of Wesley's contemporaries. The consideration of this fact throws more light than anything else on the hypocritical and immoral character which is represented as being the type of a methodist, for it is quite certain that the calvinistic doctrine is far more liable to be abused than any of the peculiar doctrines held by Wesley. The repeated mention of the Tabernacle at Tottenham-Court and of the field-preaching on Kennington Common is another proof that the writers had Whitefield rather than Wesley in view.

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II. Methodism in Poetry.

One of the earliest references in the poetical works of authors, who were Wesley's contemporaries, to the religious sect which was destined to spread over the whole of the United Kingdom, to Ireland and across the ocean to the New World, is to be found in one of the principal works of "the great Poet of Reason" and "the Prince of Rhyme", in Alexander Pope's "Dunciad".[1])

The king (poet laureate) being proclaimed, the solemnity is graced with public games and sports of various kinds. After the races follow exercises for the poets, of tickling, vociferating, diving etc.:

"So swells each wind-pipe: ass intones to ass,
Harmonic twang! of leather, horn and brass;
Such as from labouring lungs th'enthusiast blows,
High sounds, attemper'd to the vocal nose;
Or such as bellow from the deep divine;
There Webster! peal'd thy voice, and Whitfield thine!...
In Tottenham fields, the brethren with amaze
Prick all their ears up, and forget to graze!"

(Book II. v. 253 ff.)

The "Dunciad" was first published in 1728, but the two lines bracketed together were an after-thought added in the

[1]) Cf. Elwin's Pope, vol. IV. p. 148.

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year 1742, two years before Pope's death, and some three years after the clergy began to close the doors of their churches for Wesley and Whitefield. "This allusion was evidently introduced to gratify the spite of William Warburton, the bitter controversialist, who wrote a defence of Pope's 'Essay on Man' in answer to the attack on that work by M. de Crousaz. Webster had attacked Warburton's 'Divine Legation of Moses' (1738) and Whitefield is here mentioned with Webster because he had made some public remarks on Webster's 'Miscellanies' and had also criticised the 'Divine Legation'." [1])

This is the only mention Pope makes of these enthusiasts whom he seems to have regarded as a society of people whose chief occupation was that of making disagreable noises. When we remember that he was born and bred a Roman Catholic, it is no wonder that he should have a prejudice against the Methodists, a prejudice which was probably confirmed by what he heard from other people, for it is scarcely conceivable that he ever came into personal contact with them, and the work entitled "The Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists compared" which afterwards became such a bone of contention, because it tried to prove that the Methodists had much in common with the Roman Catholics, was not published until 1754. [2]) The only wonder is that Pope did not write more satirically and scathingly of them. It is, however, worth noting that he made the acquaintance of Mr. Samuel Wesley, the elder brother of the revivalists, and must have thought well of him, for once he desired to employ him to convey an important letter for him, and on another occasion he proposed to dine with Lord Oxford and asked that Mr. Samuel Wesley might be invited to meet him. [3]) We find too that Pope interested himself very much in the Commentary on Job, which was written by the father of the

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[1]) Cf. Elwin, vol. IV. pp. 17 and 333.

[2]) Cf. below p. 67.

[3]) Cf. Elwin, vol. X. p. 246; vol. XII. p. 191 ff.; vol. XIII. p. 240 ff.

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Wesleys. He corresponded with Swift on the subject and gained the interest of Lords Bolingbroke and Oxford. From these facts it seems natural to conclude that Pope could not but have been acquainted with the early movements of the Methodists, though it is probable that his interest in the Wesley family ceased with the deaths of the old father in May 1735 [1]) and of the eldest son on Nov. 6th 1739. [2])

Pope's own views of religion soared above mere sects as we learn from his 'Essay on Man' (Ep. III. 302 and IV. 327).

His friend and contemporary Dean Swift who died about a year and a half after him has not left us any record of his thoughts about the movement, but this is easily accounted for by the fact that, as is well known, his last years were enveloped in the mist of hopeless insanity.

John Byrom, who was born in 1691 at Kersall Hall, Manchester, where he also died in 1763, is the first representative of those poets who looked with favour on the Methodist movement. He appears at first to have been a disciple of Mr. Law, the author of the "Serious Call" (1729) and expounder in England of the doctrines of Jacob Bœhme (Behmen, 1572—1624). Byrom was a zealous churchman, but had pretty strong prejudices against the Hanoverian succession being the author of the well-known Jacobite lines: —

"God bless the King and bless the faith's defender,
God bless — no harm in blessing — the Pretender.
But who Pretender is, and who is King,
God bless us all, that's quite another thing."

He afterwards held doctrines which are usually termed methodistical, but he rejected Mr. Hervey's doctrine of

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[1]) Tyerman vol. I. p. 102.
[2]) Ib. vol. I. p. 286.

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imputed righteousness and entertained an abhorrence of predestination.[1]) He became a good friend of the Wesleys, having probably made their acquaintance in June 1731 when he taught them his system of shorthand which was at that time very much in vogue.[2]) After the year 1739 in which Methodism became a power, Byrom's notices of the Wesleys and of Methodism are unusually copious. He wrote many letters to his family and friends, in which he makes frequent mention of revivals in religion and of his personal interviews with those who took a prominent part in them. There was, however, a difference between his opinions and those of Mr. Wesley on the subject of Mysticism as expounded by Mr. Law which caused him to be less warm towards the Wesleys.[3])

In Byrom's poems we find a considerable number of allusions to the Methodists and their teachings. First of all we have an "Epistle to a Gentleman of the Temple"[4]) in which the poet speaks of the Methodist tenet of the new birth as being *"No part of scripture, but the whole"*. A little further on[5]) we find "A Poetical Essay on Enthusiasm". The poem is prefaced by a letter written to a friend in town and dated "Manchester, Sept. 3rd 1751". Byrom takes the cry of 'Fly from Enthusiasm' for his text, and then proceeds to show that the word 'enthusiasm' is very often misapplied and that there are enthusiasts in every profession and in all classes. Finally, he points out the difference between a praiseworthy and a blameable enthusiasm: —

[1]) Cf. Chalmers' Engl. Poets vol. XV. p. 177 ff.

[2]) Cf. Dr. Hoole on "Dr. Byrom and the Wesleys", London 1864. p. 6.

[3]) Cf. Byrom's account of Mr. Wesley's visit to him in Manchester April 2nd 1761 as given by Dr. Hoole, p. 39. This does not, however, tally with Mr. Wesley's Journal. He does not mention any visit to Byrom, but says that he left Manchester on the 1st and was at Chester and Tattenhall on the 2nd. Cf. Journals vol. III. p. 49.

[4]) Cf. Chalmers' Engl. Poets vol. XV. p. 245.

[5]) Ib. p. 248 ff.

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"Think not that you are no enthusiast then:
All men are such, as sure as they are men.
The thing itself is not at all to blame....
You need not go to cloisters or to cells,
Monks or field-preachers, to see where it dwells:
It dwells alike in balls and masquerades;
Courts, camps and 'Changes, it alike pervades.
There be enthusiasts, who love to sit
In coffee-houses, and cant out their wit....
Fly from Enthusiasm? Yes, fly from air,
And breathe it more intensely for your care....
Bend all your wits against it, 'tis in vain,
It must exist or sacred or profane....
Blame not enthusiasm, if rightly bent."

Only he who has received the new birth *"may be christen'd man"*:

"Then flows the love that no distinction knows
Of systems, sect or party, friends or foes."

All other systems are false. This lively faith is kept up by the means of grace and this is the kind of enthusiasm in which the true Christian should wish to live and die.

Again, in some "Verses with a print representing the Salutation of the Blessed Virgin", occur the lines (p. 262): —

"That holy thing that saves a soul from sin,
Of God's good spirit must be born within:
For all salvation is, upon the whole,
The birth of Jesus in the human soul."

The same subject is referred to (p. 276) in "A Soliloquy on the Cause and Consequence of a doubting mind", in which it is said that *"the blissful life which God design'd to give"*, can only be obtained by a *"second and heavenly birth"*. Again he speaks of the *"joyful truth of being born again"*, and says:

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"In all the sav'd, right reason must allow
Such birth effected, tho' it knows not how."

This doctrine of the 'new birth' on which the Methodists laid so much stress, is further explained in a few lines (p. 276) "On the True Meaning of the Scripture Terms Life and Death, when applied to Men".

"True life, according to the scripture plan,
Is God's own likeness in his image, man;
This was the life that Adam ceas'd to live,
Or lost by sin; and therefore could not give:
So that his offspring, all the born on Earth,
Want a new parent of this heavenly birth."

Again, in his poem "On the Meaning of the Word Wrath" (p. 281), the poet describes how the wrath in our nature is appeased by love, *"When the birth of his Christ, being formed within, Dissolves the dark death of all selfhood and sin"*.

In his "Paraphrase" on the prayer used in the Church Liturgy for all sorts and conditions of men, he speaks of rising by a second new birth *"to that life which Adam had lost at his fall upon Earth"* (p. 286).

In his "Prayer" (p. 288), from Mr. Law's "Spirit of Prayer", the poet prays for the *"birth of the holy Jesus in his soul"*, and in the first part of the poem "On Church Communion" (p. 289), he says that all true salvation is begun and carried on by the new birth.

This new birth which was evidently for Byrom that part of religion, on which everything else depends, is also referred to in "A Comment on John I. 1" (p. 292), and the necessity of it is laid before us in a Fragment called "Thoughts on Imputed Righteousness" (p. 296 ff.). In another Fragment entitled "Thoughts on Predestination and Reprobation" (p. 299), he shows his abhorrence of those doctrines which *"contradict all gospel and good sense"*.

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From all these quotations, as well as from the general tenor of all his productions we see that Byrom was deeply absorbed in the doctrine which was the foundation and bulwark of Methodism, though he himself never became a member of the Methodist body. He was a good friend to the Wesleys, but as we have already stated he followed Mr. Law more closely and thus cooled somewhat in his friendship towards the former.

John Gilbert Cooper (1723—1764), the "English Anacreon" wrote in the year 1758 "Epistles to the Great, from Aristippus in Retirement". The Fourth Epistle which is dedicated to Mark Akenside is written in imitation of some fashionable French writers, Chapelle, Chaulieu (styled "the French Anacreon"), la Fare, Madame Deshoulières, and particularly Gresset. In this epistle the poet claims to be called by Jove's behest "*A Paphian and a Delphian Priest*" and thus to be inspired from above, "*As modern methodists derive Their light from no divine alive*". [1]) This is only a very slight allusion to these people but it has a satiric ring about it which in default of any further information makes us inclined to class the author with the opponents rather than with the friends of Methodism.

Charles Churchill (1731—1764) who has been called the "British Juvenal", and who by a wild life shortened a brilliant career which had only lasted four years, could not restrain from making the Methodists feel the keenness of his satirical pen. He was so gifted that Garrick said of him, "Such talents, with prudence, had commanded the nation". [2])

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[1]) Cf. Chalmers' Engl. Poets, vol. XV. p. 514.

[2]) Cf. Henry Morley's Sketch of English Literature. Seventh Ed. London s. a., p. 862.

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In 1763 he wrote a long poem in 4 books on the notorious Ghost of Cock Lane, which had caused such a sensation at the time and by which even many respected persons had been deceived. Dr. Johnson, too, who was known to have been rather superstitious, was thought to have believed in this Ghost, but we are assured by his biographer Mr. Boswell that he went to the trouble of testing it, and proved there was no foundation for the truth of the assertions in reference to the knockings. [1]) In a most satirical and biting style Churchill describes a visit to Fanny of a parson, named Plausible, but the parts of the poem that interest us here are those where the author speaks of enthusiasm and hypocrisy, for these subjects at once afford him an opportunity of lashing the Methodists, and above all one of their leaders, Whitefield. The poem begins with a reference to the astrology of the Chaldeans and their science of finding out the future. From them it passed to the Egyptians and then on to the Grecian sages. The poet expresses the opinion that it was all tomfoolery only practised for gain, and he continues: —

"A Mystery, so made for gain,
E'en now in fashion must remain.
Enthusiasts never will let drop
What brings such business to their shop,
And that great saint we Whitfield call,
Keeps up the Humbug spiritual." [2])

Further on we read how that man is ruled by Superstition, Credulity and Curiosity at the expense of Reason, Judgment and Common Sense (p. 299): —

"Impostures cannot but prevail,
And when old miracles grow stale
Jugglers will still the art pursue,
And entertain the world with new.

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[1]) Cf. Boswell's Johnson vol. I p. 415 f.; vol. IV. p. 123.
[2]) Cf. Chalmers' Engl. Poets vol. XVI. p. 296.

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The real story of the Ghost does not begin until the second book and here we have also several allusions to the Methodists (p. 302) where the poet speaks of "*She-saints ... Wits ... Fools ... Cowards ... Courtiers ... Cits*" and of:

> "*The canting Tabernacle-Brother,*
> *(For one rogue still suspects another)*",

asserting that all these and many others:

> "*To Fanny come, with the same view,*
> *To find her false, or find her true.*"

Then Plausible's visit is described (p. 304). He is an orthodox Church brother and pulls from his pocket a book of private prayer which is "*not a pin the worse for wear.*" The poet here makes the insinuation that "*None but small saints in private pray.*" Religion, he says, once possessed this gift, but

> "*Hypocrisy, of Cunning born,*
> *Crept in and stole it ere the morn.*
> *Wh — te — d, that greatest of all saints,*
> *Whom she to her own brothers bore,*
> *Rapine and Lust, on Severn's shore,*
> *Receiv'd it from the squinting dame;*
> *From him to Plausible it came,*
> *Who, with unusual care opprest,*
> *Now trembling, pull'd it from his breast*"
> (p. 304).

Robert Lloyd (1733—1764) was endowed with a fair share of poetical gifts, but, like his friend and boon-companion Charles Churchill, he ruined himself very early in life by his dissipation. Besides writing translations of Molière's "École des Femmes", Klopstock's "Tod Adams", and the first book of Voltaire's "Henriade", several poems, epistles, fables etc. he has left us a "Tale" in iambic verses of eight syllables,

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in which he gives a satirical description of the way in which a lady of fashion of the day received her visitors. A conversation is described between Caecilia and Venus *"of laughter queen and love"*. Caecilia is a Methodist, but knows how to outdo her friends in speaking anything but the truth, as is seen from the following quotation: —

"Caecilia, too, with saint-like air,
But lately come from evening pray'r,
Who knew her duty, as a saint,
Always to pray, and not to faint,
And, rain or shine, her church ne'er mist,
Prude, devotee and Methodist,
With equal zeal the cause promoted,
Misconstru'd things, and words misquoted,
Misrepresented, misapplied,
And, inspiration being her guide,
The very heart of man dissected,
And to his principles objected."

The so-called *"sanctified"* are further reproached for roaming about from one church to another, leaving their poor children to starve at home, for giving to preachers what they should pay to their creditors, and for scorning honest labour saying *"None need to work who love to pray"*. Again they are despised as those

"Who from Moorfields to Tottenham-Court
In furious fits of zeal resort,
Praise what they do not understand,
Turn up the eye, stretch out the hand,
Melt into tears, whilst — blows
The twang of nonsense through his nose,
Or — deals in speculation,
Or — hums his congregation,
Or — talks with the Lord of Hosts,
— with pillars and with posts; etc. etc." [1])

[1]) Cf. Chalmers' Engl. Poets vol. XV. p. 84 ff.

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What preachers were intended by the blanks it is now impossible to ascertain at this distance of time, as not even the initial letters of the names are indicated. As the poet himself confesses, this poem is a rambling one, a hodgepodge of things *"jumbled up in one large dish"*, without connexion and without plan.

In 1761 this same poet wrote an "Epistle to David Garrick Esq." entitled "The Cobbler of Tessington's Letter".[1]) This is another satire, this time on a Methodist parson who had severely criticised Foote's „Orators" and his "Minor" and who preached

"like an arrant fury,

'Gainst all your show folks about Drury.

Says actors all are hellish imps,

And managers the devil's pimps."

But the parson

"Knows not what he sets about,
Puts on his surplice inside out,
Or leaves a collect in the lurch"...

The author professes to like a good story or song

"But always feels most grievous qualms,
From Wesley's hymns, or Wisdom's psalms."

The preachers, he asserts, try to turn old religion topsy-turvy, but he himself refuses to give up his pleasures for any man. Poor fellow! His pleasures did not last very long. His debts brought him to the Fleet where he died at the age of thirty-one, a few weeks after having heard of the death of his friend Charles Churchill which took place at Boulogne.

Evan Lloyd (1734—1766), the author of "The Powers of the Pen", the "Curate", and an "Epistle to David

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[1]) Cf. Chalmers' Engl. Poets vol. XV. p. 123 f.

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Garrick"[1]) also wrote a poem entitled "The Methodist", which was criticised in the "Monthly Review" for October 1766[2]). It is only from this periodical and from Tyerman[3]) that we have been able to make the acquaintance of this poem.

Magus, the sorcerer of Tottenham Court (of course Mr. Whitefield is meant) is represented as having, Faust-like, made a contract with Satan, and in the extract quoted by the reviewer we have the manner in which the former kept his oath of allegiance to the latter. *"Right faithfully his oath he kept"*, for he did his best to make it appear that man has no love to expect from God, but that he has every reason only to fear his Creator:

> *"He knows his Master's realm so well,*
> *His sermons are a Map of Hell,*
> *An Ollio made of Conflagration,*
> *Of Gulphs of Brimstone, and Damnation,*
> *External Torments, Furnace, Worm* etc. etc."

One is only surprised that the "Monthly Review" would condescend to quote so much of this obscenity and filth. While admitting that vice and folly, and especially religious follies, are very suitable objects of satire, the reviewer says that the application requires the most skilful management, but leaves the reader to judge for himself from the extract given as to whether the poet is qualified for such an undertaking. We think decidedly not. He himself admits in a note that Mr. Lloyd has dwelt much on a natural bodily defect and been very severe on Mr. Whitefield for the unpardonable crime of squinting.

Mr. Tyerman[4]) also quotes two extracts, one in which Wesley is described and the other in which that worthy man's itinerants afford the author wondrous amusement.

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[1]) Cf. Stephen's National Biography, vol. 33. Art.: Evan Lloyd.
[2]) Cf. Art. 27, p. 319.
[3]) Cf. vol. II. p. 592.
[4]) Cf. vol. II. p. 591.

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Thomas Chatterton (1752—1770), being asked what he intended to do on his arrival in London, whither he was going to seek his fortune, gave the remarkable answer: — "*My first attempt shall be in the literary way; the promises I have received are sufficient to dispel doubt; but should I, contrary to my expectation, find myself deceived, I will, in that case, turn Methodist preacher. Credulity is as potent a deity as ever; and a new sect may easily be devised. But if that too should fail me, my last and final resource is a pistol.*"[1]) This expression of his idea as to the position of a Methodist preacher will prepare us for the way in which he treats that body in his poetry.

We have a poem called "Apostate Will",[2]) written by this prodigy in the poetical world when he was only eleven years and five months old.[3]) It seems to have been aimed at somebody who had formerly been a methodist and was afterwards promoted in the Established Church. The verses are in the usual metre of octosyllabic rhyming couplets. The subject of them was a preacher of the Wesleyan body only as long as he could get money, but when a better position was offered him in the Church of England, he left the Methodists and accepted the more lucrative post. It is, however, one of the principal things that redound to the honour of the earlier Methodist preachers, including their leaders, that they had to be content with £20 a year, which is certainly a very modest sum, when we consider all that was required of them, and especially as compared with Goldsmith's model parson in the "Deserted Village", who "was passing rich on £40 a year". Strangely enough Chatterton excludes the Methodists from being protestants (v. 42).

In Chatterton's "Journal" for Saturday Sept. 30th 1769 are some verses in which a squire disputes with his

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[1]) Cf. Complete Edition of the Poets of Great Britain. Lond. and Edin. 1795, vol. XI. p. 303 f.; also Works of Chatterton. Cambridge 1842, 2 vols; vol. II. p. 442.

[2]) Works vol. II. p. 326 ff.

[3]) Works vol. I. Life: pp. XXXI and XXXV; vol. II. p. 326 ff.

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rector about the condition of the church. The latter gets enraged at the reproaches of the former and exclaims: —

> *"'Invidious slanderer!' quoth the priest,*
> *'O may I never scent a feast,*
> *If thy curst conscience is as pure*
> *As underlings in Whitfield's cure* etc." [1])

These verses are followed by a poem in Hudibrastics without title, which in its turn is succeeded by an ode, [2]) also without title. It is a long recitative poem, the sole object of which is to represent what the poet considers to be the whining piety of the Methodists generally and the cant, vulgarity, and interestedness of Whitefield in particular. The recitative parts and the airs are interchanged alternately. The former describes the preacher from the standpoint of a listener and observer, while the latter are supposed to be Whitefield's own words.

The poem begins by representing Whitefield

> *"jumping*
> *"Tearing, sweating, bawling, thumping"*

and crying out to the people to repent or die damned. He then gets quite enraged because the people do not give enough and threatens to "forswear his trade":

> *"Now he raves like brindled cat,*
> *Now 'tis thunder,*
> *Rowling,*
> *Growling,*
> *Rumbling,*
> *Grumbling,* [3])

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[1]) Works vol, II. p. 558.

[2]) Works vol. II. p. 563 ff.

[3]) These lines occur again in "The Revenge", cf. Works Vol. II. p. 495.

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Noise and nonsense, jest and blunder;
Now he chats of this and that,
No more the soul jobber,
No more the sly robber.
He's now an old woman who talks to her cat."

In the succeeding air the preacher appeals to his beloved congregation and asks if he has not helped them in the hour of tribulation and given them absolution. In return he expects them not to withhold their contributions:

"Give but freely, you've remission
For all sins without condition;
You're my debtors, pay me, pay me!"

Then he begins to wander, gets lost, chatters, and sputters gibberish about Adam's fall. This is followed by groans, a sharp howl and a song. Then the theme is again changed and he relates a dream, in which he thought his soul had been transformed into a crow, though

"(The preacher or metre has surely mistook
For all must confess that a parson's a rook.)"

He flew to Hell's door, where on knocking he was pressed to enter as the company were just taking tea. He entered and was surprised to find that instead of sulphur, fire, and stink, it was a masquerade. Haymarket Theatre seemed to have been transplanted there and the devil-actors were giving "Othello" without having to black themselves! He was told that he was also expected to learn his part and join the actors. A lawyer demanded a fee to plead his right to drink tea, but he replied that he preferred brandy for it *"rais'd the spirits up"*. He then awoke and found all well. The concluding recitative contains a further description of his manner of preaching and a special reference to his defective organs of sight:

"Reason tortur'd, scripture twisted,
Into every form of fancy;
Forms which never yet existed,
And but his oblique optics can see."

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The concluding cry is "*Contribute, contribute*"! Nor is it without its effect:

> "'*Whoever gives, unto the Lord he lends.*'
> *The saint is melted, pays his fee, and wends;*
> *And here the tedious length'ning Journal ends.*"

This description is certainly beyond measure exaggerated and we think the poet right in calling his own production "tedious".

In his poem called "The Defence"[1]), written in heroic couplets and dated Dec. 25th 1769, Chatterton, who was then just entering on his eighteenth year, makes an attempt to defend his own free thoughts on religion, which he styles "*opinion's bastard son*", and says "*As education taught us we're inclin'd*". Reason, "*a thorn in revelation's side*", is his only sure guide. No sect, neither "*the church supreme*" nor "*Whitefield's new elect; No individual can their God define*". After explaining what he does believe, namely, "*I own a God, immortal, boundless, wise*" etc., he continues:

> "*Indulgent Whitefield scruples not to say,*
> *He only can direct to Heaven's high-way,*
> *While bishops with as much vehemence tell,*
> *All sects*[2]) *heterodox are food for Hell*"

and concludes by asserting: —

> "*What I think right I ever will pursue,*
> *And leave you liberty to do so too.*"

In May of the following year he wrote a poem called "The Methodist".[3]) Tom gives advice to his friend Jack who is one of the sect:

> "'*Tis very odd,*
> *These representatives of God,*

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[1]) Works vol. II. p. 439 ff.

[2]) *Sorts* is written under *sects*: both in the author's handwriting and uncancelled.

[3]) Works vol. II. p. 348 f.

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In colour, way of life and evil,
Should be so very like the devil."

Jack is represented as being a pronounced hypocrite, *a red hot Methodist; his face was full of puritanic grace,* and it is said of him in conclusion: —

"Jack, or to write more gravely, John,
Thro' hills of Wesley's works had gone,
Could sing one hundred hymns by rote,
Hymns that will sanctify the throte:
But some indeed compos'd so oddly,
You'd swear 'twas bawdy songs made godly."

Finally we have a fragment which still exists in Chatterton's own handwriting. A Church of England priest announces that all servants are free from their labour on the following day, because it is the feast of Epiphany. The connexion with what follows is not very clear. We are told that this announcement is regarded as a jest and that

"In every corner of the room are seen
Round altars covered with eternal green etc.;"

A strange jumble of things are brought before our eyes

"Anti-venereal med'cine check-by-joul
With Whitfield's famous physic for the soul." [1])

On April 14th 1770 Chatterton wrote a last will and testament. He says himself that it was written in the night between eleven and two o'clock and that he was in utmost distress of mind. He seems even then to have entertained thoughts of suicide, but this was written before he went to London. It is only a note, by which the will is prefaced, that is of interest here. In it he speaks of a dispute with Mr. ** concerning the character of David. That gentleman believed that David was a holy man from the strains of piety that breathe through the Psalms. Chatterton, on the other

[1]) Works vol. II. p. 594.

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hand, asserted that a great genius can effect anything and speaks of some "foregoing Poems" in which he had tried "to represent an enthusiastic Methodist and intended to impose it upon the infatuated world as a reality". He does not seem to have put his intention into execution, nor is it known what poems he here refers to. [1])

We further learn from a letter to his sister, dated May 30th 1770, [2]) that he was writing "for a whim" in the "Gospel Magazine", of which, he says, he believes "none are sent to Bristol, and that they are hardly worth the carriage, methodistical and unmeaning". Mr. Chalmers says that he was unable to find a magazine of this title earlier than 1774, but that there was one in Chatterton's time called the "Christian Magazine", which may probably be meant. [3]) This seems strange, for in "Lloyd's Evening Post" for March 1st 1771, a long letter appeared from Mr. Wesley in answer to the attacks of the "Gospel Magazine" against his sermon on the death of Mr. Whitefield. [4]) We know too that for many years this Magazine had for its editor the Rev. Augustus Toplady who died in his 38th year on Aug. 11th 1778. Mr. Tyerman says of this last event that "Mr. Wesley lost one of his bitterest opponents, and Calvinism its ablest champion". [5])

Chatterton's position in regard to the Methodists is thus not a very decided one, for though in all the poems quoted he makes these people out to be fanatics and hypocrites, yet from his letters we find that he at all events did not keep clear of them himself and thus showed himself to be inconsistent with his own views. We may, however, assume that though certainly talented in a certain direction, yet he was much too young and had had too little experience in religious matters to be able to form a judgment which could be regarded as an infallible criterion.

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[1]) Works vol. II. p. 622.
[2]) Ib. p. 722.
[3]) Chalmers' Engl. Poets vol. XV. p. 374 note.
[4]) Tyerman vol. III. p. 89.
[5]) Ib. p. 266.

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Edward Lovibond (d. Aug. 25th 1775), the author of "The Tears of Old May Day" (= July 25th 1754 New Style), written on the reforming of our calendar to the general usage of the rest of Europe, and of which Chalmers gives it as his opinion that the English language cannot boast a finer example of the power of poetry, has left us a poem entitled "To Laura on her receiving a Mysterious Letter from a Methodist Divine".[1]) In this poem the author advocates natural religion and would try to make out that the 'methodist's plan' is not consistent, but admits of a man yielding to and indulging in forbidden pleasures. This charge might have been made to other sects with just as much truthfulness. That there should be one black sheep in a flock is no proof that the rest are black too, and a system cannot be expected to stand or fall with the characters of individual members. There is no date attached to the poem, but it seems very probable that it may refer to Mr. Westley Hall, who married a sister of the Wesleys and who, though at first apparently of a deep religious turn of mind, finally proved a wretched scamp, as we know on John Wesley's own authority from a letter written Dec. 1st 1747,[2]) and also from the "Gentleman's Magazine" for November 1747, where in an article from the Salisbury correspondent we read that "he [i. e. Westley Hall] set out in our stage-coach for London, having first stripped his wife (a virtuous woman, by whom he has had several children) of all her child-bed linnen, and whatever he could readily convert into money, leaving her in the deepest distress". Such an individual case could not, however, be laid to the charge of the whole body of Methodists, especially seeing that the preacher in question had been disowned by them.[3])

As regards the poem itself, a methodist preacher is represented as stealing early from his consort's side in order to write an epistle to a fair one. In it

"He raves upon grace, and the union of saints,
Idolatry, rapture and flame."

[1]) Chalmers' English Poets vol. XVI p. 303 f.
[2]) Tyerman vol. I. p. 561.
[3]) Cf. Gentleman's Magazine, Supplement 1747.

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The poet reproaches him as being either a deceiver or himself deceived, and adjures him to analyse better *"the flames of religion and love"*. He then addresses the fair one, and advises her to listen to his principles of natural religion which are *"less grave and severe"*. God is a wise father and smiles on the innocent pleasures of his creatures, but

"By the winds of unreconcil'd principles driven,
Still fluctuates the Methodist's plan;
Now he wishes you chaste for the glory of heaven,
Now frail — for the pleasure of man."

It is with feelings of relief that we turn from these shallow mockings to a poet, who, while he awakens our deepest sympathies on account of the mental sufferings it was his lot to pass through, yet in his poems always touches the noblest side of our nature. We mean the poet and philanthropist William Cowper (1731—1800). Dr. Chalmers [1]) tells us that his first volume of poems, which did not appear until the year 1782, when the poet was fifty one years of age, did not meet with the success it merited. Mr. Hayley, Cowper's Biographer, has supposed that he gave offence by his bold eulogy on Whitefield, "whom the dramatic satire of Foote, in his comedy of the 'Minor' had taught the nation to deride as a mischievous fanatic". We think, however, that Chalmers is right in saying in answer to this that the character of Whitefield had long been rescued from the impious buffooneries of Foote and that the public could bear his eulogism with tolerable patience. It is more likely, he continues, that it was the austerities in the poems which rendered them at first unpopular. Many superficial observers and especially the enemies of religion have often tried to prove that Cowper's disease was the direct consequence of his religious views, which were thought to savour too much of Methodism. This theory has been successfully exploded by his faithful biographer Mr. Hayley. As early as 1771 Cowper

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[1]) Chalmers' English Poets vol. XVIII. p. 591.

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had helped his friend, the Rev. John Newton, in the composition of the "Olney Hymns", but it was not until 1779 that he began to write a sustained work in verse. Cowper's poems breathe so decidedly the spirit of Methodism that he has been claimed as one of the Methodistical Calvinistic Churchmen of the day and as the poet of English Methodism.[1])

Among other poems that were contained in the first volume, published in 1782, are "The Progress of Error", and "Truth", written between December 1780 and March 1781[2]); "Hope", "Charity" and "Conversation" were added while the book was being printed. All these poems include clear and distinct references to the leaders of Methodism or their cause.

"The Progress of Error" contains a satirical description of "*a cassock'd huntsman, and a fiddling priest*". Cowper's neighbours thought they recognised his models in two clergymen near Olney, but the public was led by the pseudonym "Occiduus" to believe that one of the Wesley's was "*the pastor of renown*", of whom the poets says: —

> "*When he has pray'd and preach'd the Sabbath down,*
> *With wire and catgut he concludes the day,*
> *Quavering and semiquavering care away.*"

Cowper deprecates this way of ending the Sabbath day, however sober and demure the audience may appear. He insists that

> "*Love, joy, and peace, make harmony more meet*
> *For Sabbath evenings, and perhaps as sweet.*"

It is an example which may be only too easily imitated or rather abused by "*the sickliest sheep of the flock*", who when they see "*apostolic gravity*" free to play the fool on Sundays, will go further and play cards, dance and be gay generally.[3]) It is well known that Charles Wesley's sons

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[1]) Cf. Stevens' Methodism, vol. II. p. 95 ff.

[2]) Cf. Morley's Sketch, p. 865.

[3]) Cf. The Poetical Works of Cowper. Aldine Edit. London 1865, 3 vols.; vol. I. p. 39 f., vv. 124—151.

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were endowed with a great talent for music and that their father allowed them to give Sunday evening concerts. It is equally certain that this passage refers to this custom, especially as it is confirmed by the fact that in a letter to Newton of the 9th Sept. 1781 Cowper alludes pretty distinctly to them.[1])

This is of course no direct attack on Methodism, but only a reproof intended for an individual. At this period of his life Charles Wesley had retired almost if not altogether from the itineracy and his influence on Methodism generally was no longer what it had been.

In "Truth" we read of "*one who wore a coronet and prayed*".[2]) This is a reference to Lord Dartmouth, the only nobleman who represented Methodism at the court.[3]) It should perhaps be added that Cowper has also immortalised the name of Conyers in this poem. After a comparison of a "*happy cottage-woman*" with Voltaire "*the unhappy bard*", the poet laments the fact that the wise and rich find it so hard to enter the kingdom of heaven, while the poor gain it so much more easily. He will not however admit that the Creator is governed by caprice in this matter, as some would teach, but he says, "*the silver trumpet's heavenly call Sounds for the poor, but sounds alike for all.*" In answer to the question why royalty, nobility, and state do not enter in at the open gate, the poet continues:

> "*Because ye will not, Conyers would reply*"
> (v. 358).

A friendship sprang up between Wesley and the Rev. Richard Conyers L. L. D. in the year 1759. Conyers was the vicar of Hemsley and devoted himself to the spiritual and moral improvement of his parishioners. He was thoroughly imbued with the spirit of Methodism, but he was so prejudiced by the Calvinists against the Arminians that when Wesley

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[1]) Aldine Edit. vol. I. p. 40 Note.
[2]) Ib. p. 68, vv. 377—380.
[3]) Stevens' Methodism l. c.

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visited him a year later he found him cold and distant.[1]) He became the friend and correspondent of Lady Huntingdon and one of her most zealous workers.[2])

In his poem called "Hope" the poet begins by asking the question: "*What is human life?*" and by answering it from the points of view of age and of youth. The remedy is Hope, of which the qualities and power are described, and man without hope is depicted in various classes and professions. Hopes that are not centred in the hallowed ground of Gethsemane, are "*weeds, errant weeds*" (v. 301).[3]) After introducing several illustrations from life the poet again speaks in his own person and shows that it is only the Christian hope that can give a man real liberty. The poet rejoices that he lives in a land where Christian liberty is preached in such a way that the "*simplest minds can soonest comprehend*" (v. 452). He then celebrates the Methodist revival in the following words: —

> *"God gives the word, the preachers throng around,*
> *Live from his lips, and spread the glorious sound:*
> *That sound bespeaks Salvation on her way,*
> *The trumpet of a life-restoring day"*
>
> (v. 453 ff.).

Further on he introduces a eulogy on Mr. Whitefield who had been dead more than ten years. He does not mention him by his real name, but says: —

> *"Leuconomus (beneath well-sounding Greek*
> *I slur a name a poet must not speak)*
> *Stood pilloried on Infamy's high stage"*
>
> (v. 554 ff.).

The poet describes how the preacher had to suffer from slander and malice, and was accused of "*such as Sodom never*

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[1]) Tyerman vol. II. pp. 336. 502 f.
[2]) Stevens' Methodism l. c.
[3]) Aldine Edit. vol. I. p. 110.

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knew, And Perjury stood up to swear all true" (v. 562 f.). He then summons Truth to perform her office and

> "*Reveal (the man is dead) to wondering eyes*
> *This more than monstre in his proper guise*"
> (v. 573 f.).

Then follows the eulogy "in words that will never die",[1]) in which Whitefield is declared to have "*loved the World that hated him*" (v. 574) and that "*his only answer was a blameless life*" (v. 577). He imitated Paul in his love of Christ:

> "*Like him, cross'd cheerfully tempestuous seas,*
> *Forsaking country, kindred, friends and ease*"
> (v. 584 f.).

In conclusion the poet exclaims: —

> "*Blush Calumny! and write upon his tomb,*
> *If honest eulogy can spare the room,*
> *Thy deep repentance of thy thousand lies*"
> (v. 588 ff.).

This poem further treats of the worldly man who is released from his fetters by Hope and finally closes with a reference to the high aim which a bard ought ever to place before him.

Besides the above mentioned lines on Whitefield our poet gives us a very faithful picture of John Wesley in his poem entitled "Conversation". After presenting to us in very apt and striking language the manifold ways in which conversation is carried on, the poet points out that the conversation of the truly Christian man is the most edifying and ennobling:

> "*A Christian's wit is inoffensive light,*
> *A beam that aids, but never grieves the sight*"
> (v. 599 f.). [2])

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[1]) Stevens' Methodism l. c.
[2]) Aldine Edit. vol. I. p. 166.

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Then as an example of such a Christian the poet exclaims, referring, as above mentioned, to Wesley:[1]) —

> *"Oh I have seen (nor hope perhaps in vain*
> *Ere life go down, to see such sights again)*
> *A veteran warrior in the Christian field,*
> *Who never saw the sword he could not wield;*
> *Grave without dulness, learned without pride,*
> *Exact, yet not precise, though meek, keen-eyed:*
> *A man that would have foil'd at their own play*
> *A dozen would-be's of the modern day"*
> (v. 605 ff.).

The poet further says that though the subject of his verse possessed "*bright wit*", and was well versed in philosophy and the learning of ancient Greece and Rome, yet "*his chief glory, was the gospel theme*". Speaking of enthusiasm Cowper grants that "*frantic frenzy*" is dangerous (v. 651 ff.), but like Byrom,[2]) he believes that "*Sage observers oft mistake the flame, And give true piety that odious name*". He also asserts that there are such "*blest inhabitants of Earth*", who are partakers of a new ethereal birth, and continues to describe their lives as contrasted with the lives of men of the world.

"The Task" was written in the summer of 1783, and in 1784, being published in 1785.

In the "Time-Piece" ("The Task", Book II) is a description of a model preacher "*such as Paul would approve*" (v. 396 ff.).[3]) Though it is not expressed in so many words, yet it seems probable that the poet was here again thinking of Wesley or one of his assistants. At the end of his description he exclaims: "*Behold the picture! — Is it like! — Like whom?*" This question is only answered by a sketch of the clerical coxcomb who was to be seen in so many pulpits of the day and who of course, was the very last to answer to the poet's

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[1]) Stevens' Methodism l. c.
[2]) Cf. above p. 41 f.
[3]) Aldine Edit. vol. II. p. 51 ff.

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description of the ideal preacher. It may be here noted that in every book of this poem and indeed in all Cowper's longer poems we find the spirit of true religion on almost every page. Even when he has no distinct reference to the Methodists and their evangelical teachings, his sympathy for them and their influence on him are distinctly felt. The quotations we have made are, with the exception of one, all favourable to the cause. They are the breathings of a warm and sincere heart and of a cultivated mind ripened by the experiences of nearly half a century. Such opinions are consequently of more value than those of men who wrote in the heat of youth or were the professed enemies of revealed religion under any circumstances, or who blindly thought they were aiding the work of God in general and the Church of England in particular by hurling their darts of satire and reproach at the poor simple-minded Methodists.

This is perhaps the most convenient place to mention several poems, which though they can hardly claim the right of being included in literature properly so-called, are here referred to, because they are criticised in the "Monthly Review", and of which one at least would appear to have become popular. The first is called "The Mimic: A Poem. By the Author". The reviewer speaks of it [1]) as a bare-faced plagiarism of a poem bearing the same title by the Rev. Mr. Pitt. [2]) The present performance is said to be a compliment to Mr. Foote, the purloiner having added a few "scurvy" lines of his own as well as some pilfered passages from the "Minor".

The next poem of this class appeared in the same year as the first edition of Anstey's "New Bath Guide", namely in 1766. The title is: — "The Methodist and Mimick. A Tale in Hudibrastic Verse by Peter Paragraph

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[1]) Monthly Review, May 1761. Art. XXXIII. p. 356.

[2]) Said to be found in Dodsley's Miscellanies vol. III.

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inscribed to Sam[l.] Foote Esq." The latter, says Mr. Tyerman [1]) "doubtless nursed the bantling with natural affection". The "Tale" represents a Methodist trying to persuade the Mimick to be one of them. The latter, however, instead of showing himself inclined to join them, only mocks and raves at them in language which is so ribald and obscene, that it is difficult to chose any extract which may be called mild:

"But, if each Church of England's brother
Would wisely stick by one another,
And call a General Convocation
Of all true Churchmen in the nation,
And on this article insist,
That none should deal with Methodist,
They'd soon leave Squintum in the lurch
And glide like snakes again to Church.
Till then let all like me determine
To fly the infectious canting vermin."

In the "Monthly Review" for November 1767 [2]) a severe criticism is passed on an anonymous poem entitled "Methodism Triumphant, or the decisive Battle between the Old Serpent and the Modern Saint". It consists of no less than five books and is written in the epic verse of Milton. The review says that this choice of metre shows a want of judgment, "for the absurd doctrines and extravagances of fanaticism would be more effectually ridiculed in the farcical strain of Butler". Mr. Tyerman [3]) quoting Nichol's "Literary Anecdotes" (vol. II. p. 380) says that it is there stated to be the work of Dr. Nathaniel Lancaster, rector of Stanford Rivers.

Further, we have six disgusting poetical effusions which were all published in the year 1778 by the same anonymous writer. As they can hardly be said to have any claims to

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[1]) Vol. II. p. 59.
[2]) Art. XXVI. p. 394 f.
[3]) Vol. II. p. 616.

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literary merit, and are one and all accompanied by frontispieces that are the most indecent libels on Mr. Wesley, we prefer to content ourselves with mentioning them and referring to Mr. Tyerman's account of them.[1])

Speaking of pictures it should not be forgotten that William Hogarth (1697—1764), the celebrated engraver and painter, among his many works that were intended as satires on the follies and immoralities of the day, also produced a satirical print against the Methodists. The picture is entitled: — "Credulity, Superstition and Fanaticism". The interior of a church is represented with a ranting preacher in the pulpit and a congregation consisting of the most varied types of listeners in the pews. Symbols of enthusiasm and fanaticism are to be seen in almost every object depicted. A thermometer, fixed on a human heart and placed upright on a volume of Wesley's Sermons and Glanville's Book of Witches, indicates that lukewarmness is the source of all the excess represented in the picture. On the top of the thermometer are the Cock Lane Ghost and the Drummer of Tedworth. In a basket that stands upon King James's "Treatise on Demonology" is a volume of Mr. Whitefield's Journals. The preacher is of course the most conspicuous object of all. He has got so excited in the heat of his discourse that the sounding-board over his head has cracked, while his gown has flown open and displays a harlequin's jacket. His wig has fallen off, thus revealing his tonsure and discovering him to be a jesuit in disguise. A figure, like a cherub, wearing a post-boy's cap, is flying towards the preacher, bearing a letter addressed to "Saint Money-trap", thus indicating that the main object the minister has in view is his own self-interest. In the back-ground is a lay-preacher pointing a poor wretch, whose hair stands on end, to a globe suspended from the ceiling and which is a symbol of hell. Looking in at the window

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[1]) Vol. III. p. 262 ff. See also Monthly Review 1778 Jan. Art. 14. p. 73; April, Art. 11. p. 305; Aug. Arts. 23, 24, 25. p. 156 f. Also 1779 June Art. 29. p. 478, and below p. 105 f.

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is a Turk, who, as he gazes at the scene in amazement, exclaims: "If this be Christianity, Great Prophet, I thank thee that I am a Mahommedan!" This is the picture which Lord Orford [1]) considered to be the best of Hogarth's productions, but we must agree with Dr. Paley that fanatics of the nature here depicted are subjects rather of pity than of biting satire. The editor is right in thinking that "the artist has here overstepped the modesty of nature". [2])

We now come to speak of a work which was the composition of a second-rate poet, who, however, is included in Johnson's "Lives", as also in Campbell's "Selections from the Poets". This is "The New Bath Guide" by Christopher Anstey (1724—1805) which was first published in 1766 [3]) and had passed through eleven editions in 1779, a sufficient proof of its popularity at the time. In 1790 we find it was imitated by someone who took the *nom de plume* of Antony Pasquin and entitled his poem "A Postscript to the New Bath Guide". [4]) The "Guide" is a satirical sketch in verse of the life at Bath and consists of a collection of letters supposed to be written by a family during their residence at this fashionable watering-place of the period. The family consists of a brother (Simkin) who writes most of the letters to his mother, of his sister Prudence, on account of whose health they have come to Bath, a friend (Jenny) and Tabby Runt, their maid. In anapaestic rhythms we have a very lively account of the way in which the visitors spent their days, of the pump-room, the bathing, the concerts, doctors' consultations, gaming, public breakfasts, and among other subjects several references are made to the Methodists and Moravians, who are, of course, ridiculed just as are the physicians who make so much fuss and do nothing but help

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[1]) Cf. Horace Walpole's Works, vol. III. p. 461 "Anecdotes of Painters".

[2]) For a copy of the print with a full description, cf. Complete Works of William Hogarth, including The Analysis of Beauty etc. In Three Volumes. London 1837.

[3]) Cf. Monthly Review, June 1766, p. 467.

[4]) Cf. Monthly Review, May 1790, Art. XXI. p. 105.

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to keep their patients as long as possible. In the same house, in which the family is living, lodges a certain Nicodemus or Roger, who is very kind to Prudence and of whom Simkin says:

"He's a pious good man, and an excellent scholar,
And I think it is certain no harm can befall her;
For Roger is constantly saying his prayers,
Or singing some spiritual hymn on the stairs...
Our Prudence declares he's an excellent preacher,
And by night and by day is so good as to teach her." [1])

In the form of a poem in trochaic tetrameters, Miss Prudence writes to a friend and tells her that she has been elected to Methodism by a vision. All her friends, she continues, are *"embarking for the fiery gulph of hell"*. She alone is blessed:

"For I dream'd an apparition
Came like Roger from above
Saying, By divine commission
I must fill you full of love." [2])

The letter continues in so obscene a strain that the editor might well break off suddenly and try to excuse himself by saying that he cannot give the sequel, but refers the reader to the Bishop of Exeter's Book, entitled "The Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists compared",[3]) where, he says, many instances are to be found (particularly of young people) who have been elected in the manner above described.

In the brother's next letter he says: —

"Religion design'd to relieve all our care,
Has brought my poor sister to grief and despair;" [4])

and concludes by expressing his opinion that the best thing for them will be to return home.

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[1]) Letter II.
[2]) Letter XIV.
[3]) Publ. 1754; cf. above p. 39.
[4]) Letter XV.

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In the second edition, the author added an epilogue in which he represents "*a good lady of delicate taste*" buying his 'Guide' and saying to the bookseller: —

> *"Fie! Mr. Bookseller, bring me some paste;*
> *I'll close up this leaf, or my daughter will skim*
> *The cream of that vile methodistical hymn."*

The only hymn in the book is a Moravian hymn on the death of an infant. The Guide who is in conversation with this and other ladies answers for himself and says: —

> *"Indeed, my good ladies, religion and virtue*
> *Are things that I never design'd any hurt to."*

The author then adds a letter from Jenny's friend, Lady Elizabeth, and expresses the hope that this ode, which is the form the letter assumes, will atone for past offences. Lady Elizabeth tells how she has to nurse her father, and quotes her mother's dying prayer, in which she is exhorted to be good and religious, but to beware of all extremes. The Guide then concludes the Epilogue by saying: —

> *"Come on, then, ye Muses, I'll laugh down my day,*
> *In spite of them all will I carol my lay;*
> *But perish my voice, and untun'd be my lyre,*
> *If my verse one indelicate thought shall inspire."*

Mr. Chalmers says that this poem may still be read with pleasure, but he adds that it is difficult at the present day to understand how some of its grossnesses could have been tolerated. "The son of a doctor of divinity was no doubt held to do good service, by writing indecent verses against those who sought, however mistaken they might appear in some points, to arouse men from the prevailing indifference to all questions touching the spiritual side of their nature. The last editor of the 'New Bath Guide', Mr. Britton by name, omitted some of the more offensive passages, but it is difficult to purify what is radically corrupt." This is the best comment we can give on this poem which carries its

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own condemnation about with it.[1]) A monument has been erected to the author in the Poet's Corner, but, what his merits were, does not appear. This performance, one would have thought, had been alone sufficient to have precluded such an honour.

George Crabbe (1754—1832), the poet who described the poor, among whom he had long lived, to the rich, and whose "Tales" became so popular, was only a lad of nine when John Byrom died. They were men of very different characters. Byrom's poetry is strongly influenced by mysticism, Crabbe's is realistic. We know that once, at least, the latter heard Wesley preach, and that when the apostle of Methodism was eighty-seven years of age. This was on the 15th Oct. 1790 some five months before Wesley's death, at Lowestoft. We are told that Crabbe "was greatly struck with the reverend appearance of the aged preacher, with his cheerful air, and the beautiful cadence to the lines he quoted [referring to some well known lines from Anacreon on growing old, which Wesley had cited with an application of his own], and after the service was introduced to him and received with benevolent politeness."[2]) Crabbe was one of the last of those poets who made use exclusively of the heroic couplet before it was supplanted by the freer measures of Coleridge, Scott, Southey and Byron. It is in this metre that his "Tales" were composed, in which are the following references to the Methodist movement.

In "The Parish Register"[3]) in 3 parts (1. Baptisms, 2. Marriages, 3. Burials) published in 1807, Crabbe describes an old sexton who is lying at death's door and tells his experience of the five rectors whom he had served.

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[1]) We give this opinion in spite of the pleasure felt by Horace Walpole when he read it. Cf. Walpole's remarks in his Letters, vol. IV. p. 504 f.

[2]) Tyerman vol. III. p. 628 f.

[3]) Crabbe's Works, London 1823, 8 vols.; vol. I p. 36 ff.

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Among them was one who came to the church fresh from Cambridge. He was at first modest *"seldom venturing on reproof, But touch'd his neighbours tenderly enough"*. He, however, got into the power of *"a clamorous sect"*, to whose censures and flatteries he yielded, till at last he developed all the attributes of an enthusiastic preacher. The consequence was *"He here conviction, there confusion wrought"*, but became an early prey to disease and death. In his last illness he lamented the wicked pride of worldly works in spite of all saving faith. In his mental and spiritual distress he consulted the old sexton who comforted him by telling him he believed he was safe.

In "Sir Eustace Grey",[1]) according to the author's own preface, we have "an attempt to describe the wanderings of a mind first irritated by the consequences of error and misfortune, and afterwards soothed by a species of enthusiastic conversion, still keeping him insane". Sir Eustace had passed a happy youth, was wealthy, had married well, and enjoyed every earthly blessing, until his faithless friend seduced his wife, which drove Sir Eustace to slay the deceiver. His wife then pined, *"she died, she loath'd to live"*; his children also drooped and died. Sir Eustace is then attacked by madness, but soothed by conversion. In a note[2]) Crabbe admits that the change from restlessness to repose in the mind of Sir Eustace is wrought by a methodistic call. A sober and rational conversion, he says, could not have happened while the disorder of the brain continued.

In the year 1810 Crabbe published "The Borough",[3]) in 21 Letters. Although this work, as well as those already mentioned, strictly belongs to the present century, yet it must be included here, as also his later works, in order to obtain a complete survey of the poet's views on the subject in question.

In the preface (p. XXIII ff.) the author gives us a succinct explanation of the purpose of this poem. He here

[1]) Works vol. I. p. 229 ff.
[2]) Ib. p. 239.
[3]) Ib. vol. II and vol. III.

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calls attention to the two great divisions of the Methodist body, namely, the Calvinistic and Arminian Methodists. The latter, he says, were still considered as one body, but the Calvinistic societies were to be looked upon rather as separate and independent congregations, and it is to one of these that he more particularly alludes. At the same time he expressly remarks that he must entreat not to be considered as one who takes upon himself to censure the religious opinions of any society or individual. It is the *spirit* of the enthusiast and bigot, not his opinion, manners or creed that have engaged his attention. As his sources of information on their tenets he refers to the journals of the first Methodists, or rather to the extracts quoted from them by their opposers (cf. "Methodists and Papists Compared; Treatise on Grace by Bishop Warburton"). Among their tenets he seems to regard as the most dangerous, are their offensive familiarity with the deity, their belief in miracles wrought at their request and for their convenience, and their wretched jargon, composed of scriptural language, debased by vulgar expressions. We learn further that the poet not only refers most particularly to the Calvinistic Methodists, but also to a sect, 'a church' of this body, and especially to its founder, a man who seems to have been a very popular preacher at the time, whose name is not communicated to us, but who is said to have been the author of fourscore pamphlets with the strangest titles, such as "Satan's Lawsuit", "Way and Fare for Wayfaring Men", "The Naked Bow of God" etc.

Of the 21 letters in heroic couplets that make up the poem, the following are some of the principal titles: The Church, The Vicar etc., Sects and Professions in Religion, Elections Professions, Inns, the Poor, etc. etc.

In the letter on "Sects and Professions"[1]) we learn that all manner of sects are tolerated in the Borough, and are *'as frequent as fashions'*. The people always run after those who stir up their feelings and set their hearts in a glow, and none prize the cool and prudent teacher.

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[1]) Works vol. II. Letter IV. p. 51 ff.

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The poet mentions and describes the effect of the zeal of a number of sects, as of Deists, of Church Reformers, of the Church of Rome, of Baptists and of Swedenborgians. Finally he comes to speak of the Methodists, who, he says, are fierce and strong, though long divided into hostile parties, namely, the Calvinists and Arminians, Wesley and Whitefield having been long before called away by death from their positions as leaders. Now they have various leaders with new divisions. One of the preachers is described in very drastic and realistic language as follows:

"Borne up and swell'd by tabernacle-gas,
Much he discourses, and of various points,
All unconnected, void of limbs and joints;
He rails, persuades, explains, and moves the will,
By fierce bold words, and strong mechanic skill." [1])

This preacher compares himself favourably in his own eyes to the churchman who only preaches moralities, but he contends that strife for virtue would be *"proud and vain"*. Grace alone is self-sufficient. He then exclaims:

"Oh! babes and sucklings, dull of heart and slow,
Can Grace be gradual? Can conversion grow?" [2])

This question he answers in the negative by comparing the converted man to him who gains the twenty-thousand prize. In opposition to the priest, who says a man's sins are forgiven him when he repents and relies on mercy, he asseverates:

"It is the c a l l! till that proclaims us free,
In darkness, doubt and bondage we must be." [3])

He continues by giving a succinct account of conversion: — First the sinner hears a cry that tells him he is condemned.

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[1]) l. c. p. 63.
[2]) l. c. p. 65.
[3]) l. c. p. 66.

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When in the torments of an awakened conscience and looking for hell, *"this travail, the new birth comes on. And in one instaht every pang is gone"*. The preacher concludes his harangue by saying that he is meek and modest and not proud like the pope, bishops, deans, and prebendaries, though the great crowds he is able to gather to hear him are proof enough that he has a just claim to be proud. All he has, however, he says, has only been consigned to him and he is *"nought but steward and trustee."* [1])

The poet then passes on to speak of the doctrines of the Arminians, whose representative in the poem cries:

"Seek Grace, for he shall find who seeks.
This is the ancient stock by Wesley led.
They the pure body, he the reverend head;
All innovation they with dread decline,
Their John the elder was the John Divine." [2])

They believe firmly in the power of Satan and in their certain victory over him. This Arminian preacher is also represented by the poet as attacking the Church of England and asking to be shown one churchman who will rise and pray *"Through half the night, though lab'ring all the day"*. [3]) Their sheep are devoured by Satan while they sleep. but the Methodists drive him from the fold. He then describes the different ways in which a sick sinner is treated by the church-physician and the methodist. The former requires repentance, amendment of life on recovery, readiness to pardon others, belief in what the Lord has done, and thankfulness for forgiveness. The latter asks:

"How dropped you first the legal yoke?
What the first word the living Witness spoke?
Perceived you thunders roar and lightnings shine,
And tempests gathering ere the birth divine? etc." [4])

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[1]) l. c. p. 68.
[2]) l. c. p. 68.
[3]) l. c. p. 68.
[4]) l. c. p. 71.

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This letter concludes with the application of the minister, who put the question personally as to whether his hearers are deeply touched. He feels that they are not and accuses them of being all asleep, listless and lazy, as if at church. He goes on to lament the good old times when first this mighty work of theirs began.

In the 20th Letter, entitled "The Poor of the Borough — Ellen Orford",[1]) the latter's husband, who was pensive by nature, went to hear those who *"preached of destiny and fate"*. But he did not feel his call, while persuasion, prayer, and reason only darkened his despair. His very nature changed; he reproached his child and cursed his bed. He gave himself up to gloomy thoughts until his son one day found him *"suspended, long bereft of life"*.[2])

The next Letter is a continuation of the same subject, being the history of poor "Abel Keene", a teacher of a school of the lower order.[3]) He obtains a place at the office of a merchant where he is alarmed by the ungodly discourses of the clerks. Unable to give answers, he finally becomes converted to their opinions himself. The remonstrances of his devout sister are in vain and when the merchant dies, Abel loses his position and returns to poverty unpitied. Relief is brought to him, but he falls into a state of melancholy, and, on being found wandering about, gives an account of himself and the revolution in his mind. He goes to a famous soul-doctor, who tries to comfort him by telling him that the fact of his trembling for sin is a sign that he is now *"an object meet for healing grace"*.[4]) But the poor fellow, on asking what he must do, is told, it is not necessary to do anything. *"If thou art call'd, thou wilt the faith receive."* When he says he cannot repent, the reverend gentleman angrily replies: *"If thou art call'd, thou needest nought besides... The call will come — if not, ah! wo for thee!"* The call does not come and he is told to give up repining and die in peace.

[1]) Works vol. III. p. 119 ff.
[2]) l. c. p. 131.
[3]) l. c. p. 139 ff.
[4]) l. c. p. 150.

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He asks for comfort, but the hard Calvinist says: "*Raise not thy voice against th'Eternal will, But take thy part with sinners and be still.*"[1]) Abel Keene concludes his history by saying:

"*... I'm full of doubts: — Adieu!*
Perhaps his reverence is mistaken too."[2])

In a note the poet refers to a particular periodical in which this dialogue is pronounced to be a most abominable caricature, if meant to be applied to Calvinists in general, and greatly distorted, if designed for an individual. He again quotes his own preface and defends his position by citing a pamphlet, entitled "A Cordial for a Sin-despairing Soul" the whole tenor of which is to show the uselessness of religious duties and to inculcate that sort of quietism which is alluded to in the above dialogue.

In No. 14 of the "Tales in Verse" (1812), called "The Struggles of Conscience",[3]) we have a young fellow attending the ministrations of a preacher of the elect. But the effect on him was that he always tried to quieten his conscience and passed on from one crime to another until he had to suffer the terrors of it.

In No. 15 of the same "Tales", is the story of "The Squire and the Priest".[4]) The former finds his priest too strict for him, and determines to put a young man, a relation, in his place, one "*who had easy views of life, a friendly patron, and an obliging wife*". He said he was anxious to assist "*an honest lad, who scorn'd a Methodist*". The young man had also been warned by his mother not to spoil his talents by mingling with "*canting hypocrites*". But for all that he strayed to a preacher and received a call which he obeyed. It was at this juncture that the rectory at the Hall was offered him. For some weeks the Squire was not able to hear him preach on account of an attack of gout, but on his recovery

[1]) l. c. p. 151.
[2]) l. c. p. 151.
[3]) Works vol. V. p. 73 ff.
[4]) l. c. p. 97 ff.

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he called the young preacher to him and gave him his advice as to what and how it behoved a minister to preach. The young man, however, remained faithful to his conscience and of course offended his uncle. This caused trouble in the parish, which became divided, as it were, into two camps, and this division was a great hindrance in the minister's work.

No. 19 is called "The Convert".[1]) The hero, John Dighton, is an illegitimate child. As a boy he was very wild and up to all kinds of tricks. Falling ill he has to face the fear of death, and is converted. On his recovery he is still under the impressions of his conversion and acts accordingly. But his religion is only founded on his feelings and not on reason. By his friends he is placed in a stationer's shop and encouraged in every possible way. He prospers, marries, and lives happily until he begins to sell doubtful literature. His mind also becomes poisoned by reading this literature himself, and he at last separates himself from his friends and the church. Finally his friends visit him again, but have no comfort for him. He is *"sick of life, and yet has no desire to die"*. The poet concludes by lamenting that the poor fellow has been so misled instead of being guided by *"reason in her proper place"*, by *"grounds of hope and fear"* and *"by virtue"*.

We now proceed to examine "The Tales of the Hall", which were published in 1819. In "Ruth", Book V,[2]) the girl of that name has a child by a sailor who is pressed into the service before they can be married. Her lover dies, and she lives in shame with her fatherless child. A teacher tries to comfort her. He professes to be *'sent'*, but she finds out that he is a rogue. Her father insists on her marrying him. She consents to speak with him on the subject and tells her mother afterwards that he is not what he seems: —

> *"He talks of heaven, and let him, if he will,*
> *But he has earthly purpose to fulfil;"* [3])

[1]) l. c. p. 189 ff.
[2]) Works vol. VI. p. 79 ff.
[3]) l. c. p. 93.

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And again,

> *"And he, the man, who should have taught the soul,*
> *Wish'd but the body in his base control."* [1])

Her father gives her three days to decide. On the last night she disappears and is afterwards found drowned.

In Book VI [2]) which is a continuation of the adventures of Richard, one of the brothers of the Hall, he tells of his illness in the wars with Spain, of his return, and of his having been nursed in the family of a vicar, whose three daughters are described. Matilda, the sweet enthusiast made a great impression on his mind:

> *"My soul, dear girl! she made her constant care,*
> *But never whisper'd to my heart 'beware'!"* [3])

"The Maid's Story", Book XI, [4]) is the counterpart of "The Old Bachelor", Book X. The old maid tells how she lived with her grandmother until the latter died, after which she lived in retirement with her maid. After her step-father's death, however, she returned to her own mother, who had sought comfort in a new sect. She tried all she could to persuade her daughter to join the sect, too, but in vain, until a young preacher, Frederick by name, gave her *"an electric shock"*: [5])

> *"He had not sought me, the availing call*
> *Demanded all his love, and had it all,*
> *But now, thus met, it must be heaven's design."* [6])

When she knew him better, she saw that he was proud, and was more in love with her on account of her possessions. Whereupon she declared that he was changed, and retired

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[1]) l. c. p. 97.
[2]) l. c. p. 103 ff.
[3]) l. c. p. 107.
[4]) Works vol. VII. p. 61 ff.
[5]) l. c. p. 84.
[6]) l. c. p. 85.

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with her mother to Sidmouth. She here submits herself to a self-examination. Her mother dies and Frederick returns as a soldier. He says that his happiness is now complete and tells of his flight from superstitious zeal and how that he had been *"by reason and exertion freed"*. The renewal of his offer of love is, however, decisively refused.

The last story in which Crabbe takes occasion to refer to the Methodists is in the last book of these 'Tales', viz. Book XIX., entitled "William Bailey".[1]) William has been forsaken by his lady, or rather, she has been seduced. He tries to console himself by bestowing charity on the poor, instead of taking the seducer's life, as did Sir Eustace Grey. He is reproached even by those to whom he shows kindness. They see that he is not perfectly happy, *"yet he loves to pray"*, and they tell him that he has not yet experienced the self-destroying call. William listens to their exhortations and yields to the comforts of their doctrines. He begins to feel *"the enlivening warmth of methodistic zeal"*, attends their meetings and peruses their books. But for all that, he was not *"within the pale and yoke"*,

> *"But felt the comfort, and began to pray*
> *For such companions on the king's highway."*[2])

"Crabbe was a clergyman of the old-fashioned school, and a good friend to the poor, but he was indifferent to theological speculations, suspicious of excessive zeal, contemptuous towards enthusiasts and heartily opposed to Wesleyans, evangelicals, and other troublesome innovators". This quotation from Leslie Stephen's National Biography (vol. XII. Art. Crabbe) seems to us a little too severe, for, taking him to be 'nature's sternest painter' as Byron called him in "English Bards and Scotch Reviewers", he only tried to depict things as they actually were experienced by himself, and though in all the cases quoted of his drawing the sect of the Methodists into his poems, he is evidently opposed to them, yet from

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[1]) Works vol. VIII p. 121 ff.
[2]) l. c. p. 148.

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the poems themselves it can hardly be asserted that he was '*contemptuous*' towards enthusiasts. He is too natural and serious to be that. It is perhaps a little unfortunate that he has laid so much stress on the dark side of the movement. He saw the excesses to which some of these people went and attempted to show by his stories the evil results of their fanaticism. He is, however, very careful himself, as has already been pointed out (cf. above p. 71) to tell the reader in his prefaces that though he has a particular church and its minister in view, it is not the opinions, manners or creed of any society or individual, but the spirit of enthusiasts, their folly and their craft that have engaged his attention.

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III. In Prose.

a) Methodism in the Magazines, Essays, and Published Letters of the Period.

"The Gentleman's Magazine." 1731—1763.

This monthly was published by a gentleman [1]) who assumed the name of Sylvanus Urban, and was printed at St. John's Gate, London. It was commenced in the year 1731 and discontinued in 1763. Articles on the most varied topics were offered every month for the instruction of its readers. There were papers on religious, social, political and literary questions of the day, extracted from the principal periodicals then in vogue, *e. g.* The London Gazette, The Weekly Miscellany, The Craftsman, Common Sense etc., as well as from the daily papers, The Daily Post, Evening Post, St. James's Evening Post etc. There were also Home and Foreign News, Court News, lists of births, marriages and deaths, statistics as to the mortality of London and finally a register of the books of the month. The illustrations, if not equal to what is expected nowadays from a magazine of the same standing, are interesting on account of the subjects of them. The nature and value of this periodical can be perhaps best understood by comparing it with "The Review of Reviews" of our own day. The tone is patriotic and royal, but otherwise free from party spirit, so that discussions are carried on by representatives

[1]) Edward Cave, the printer. Cf. Johnsoniana, or Supplement to Boswell. London 1836, p. 366.

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of both sides of the subject in question, and that with all fairness to both parties. This principle is not lost sight of even in questions of religion, and we shall see that the editor is true to it in all references to the Methodists, although the reader feels that the general tendency of the Magazine is decidedly against that sect. In the monthly register of books, the works of Wesley and Whitefield and their adherents are announced side by side with those of their opponents. The first reference of this nature occurs as early as the year 1733 (cf. Feb. p. 107). This is the mention of "The Oxford Methodist: Being some Account of a Society of young Gentlemen, in that City, so denominated; setting forth their Rise, Views and Designs" etc.

It cannot, however, be included in the range of this dissertation to quote every work that is in any way related to our subject, for to do that would require too much space without increasing the value of the results. Nor is this necessary for obtaining an impartial account of the attitude of this periodical towards the Methodists. Suffice it to say that the majority of Wesley's and Whitefield's works published before 1763 are here announced. We intend, therefore, only to refer to those articles that are reviewed at length or that have an intrinsic value in themselves; and even here we shall restrict ourselves to those subjects which at the time were of general interest or aroused the spirit of discussion, whereby the reviewer is moved to express his own opinion. These we propose to take in chronological order.

November 1737 (p. 697). A few lines are quoted from a poem which was addressed "To the Rev. Mr. Whitefield, on his Design for Georgia. Anonymous. Dated from Gloucester, Nov. 1st".

> *"Long as Savannah, peaceful stream! shall glide,*
> *Your work renown'd shall be extended wide:*
> *Children as yet unborn shall bless your love,*
> *Who thus, to save them, left your native shore."*

February (p. 89 f.) and March (p. 137 f.) 1738. Articles from "Old Whig" on "Enthusiasm", showing the ex-

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tremes to which enthusiasts are often carried and how they should be treated. The second article considers especially "Contemplative Enthusiasm", of which the bad effects, are said to be: 1. A Consumate Ignorance. 2. Total Neglect of Virtue. 3. Unsociable Pride and Arrogance.

March 1739 (p. 127 f.). The Methodists are styled "*those bold Enthusiasts*" in an article from "The Weekly Miscellany", in which an account is given of an unhappy gentleman, who lived many years an infidel and died a believer, but not a penitent, convinced of the truth of a future state, and of his own miserable portion in it. The writer (Dr. Lucas) tries to show that there can be no such state on this side of the grave. "Since God does not give us any certain criterions, whereby to judge, we are never warranted to pronounce an absolute sentence. Tho'", says he, speaking of the Methodists, the Wesleys, Whitefield etc., "we have some *Spiritual Empiricks* who think *Despair* a most prominent Symptom of Salvation; and accordingly they send People to *Bedlam*, there to repent when they have lost their senses." He further expresses the wish that he could make "an impression upon those *bold Enthusiasts*, who dare to pass a sentence of damnation with less ceremony than a well-bred person would tell another that his hands were dirty". He is, however, very anxious to clear himself from any attempt "to lessen the Malignancy or Danger of Crying Sins, especially if repeated".

May 1739 (p. 238). This month we have a fulfilment of Mr. Urban's promise as expressed in the Dedication to him on his volume for this year. After saying how difficult it was to please everybody the author proceeds:

> *"Is there who controversial Depths would try?*
> *Or to th' amazing Heights of Myst'ry fly?*
> *Their different Lines, lo! Martin, Walker bring*
> *And Whitefield, Wesley, freely lend their Wing."*

Whitefield, accordingly, is allowed to speak in a long article, called "A Method of Confession drawn up by Mr. Whitefield for the Use of the Women belonging to the Religious Societies. Taken from the Original, under

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Mr. Whitefield's own Hand". The questions here proposed are mostly in strict accordance with the wording of scripture, but such questions as: "Are you in Love?" — "Does any court you?" — "How do you like him?" must be allowed even by Methodists themselves to be hardly suitable in a class meeting. On the same and following page is a copy of a private conversation of Whitefield's, in which the latter professes to have been very religious, as he thought, but that he was not so until he saw the necessity of the new birth.

There are also articles quoted from the "Weekly Miscellany" for May 5th and 12th. In a very long article the writer is very severe on the Wesleys and Whitefield, comparing them to quacks and mountebanks and calling upon them to leave the Church of England and declare themselves openly as Dissenters, by putting themselves under the protection of the Act of Toleration. They are "bold Movers of Sedition, and Ringleaders of ye Rabble ... They imagine", he says further, "that vast Concourse of *Hearers* are all *Admirers*, whereas most of them would as eagerly attend any other Monster, equally as strange as that of a *Clergyman* preaching in a *Gown* and *Cassock* on a Common" (p. 239 f., cf. also p. 162).

In the same month is an article (p. 255 ff.) from "Common Sense" for April 19th, entitled "Of the pernicious Nature and Tendency of Methodism".[1]) An Enthusiast, it is asserted, is a more formidable enemy to the Church than a libertine, for there is always hope of the latter being reformed. The writer then proceeds to describe a visit to a young gentleman of liberal education, who, he found, had become morose and reserved towards him. He soon learned that he had fallen under the influence of the Methodists and particularly that of a gentleman whom he had taken for his confident. He laments any system that could have such results and proceeds to show the bad effects it may have upon civil society. Here he lets his indignation carry him to extremes when he uses

[1]) Cf. also "Common Sense" June 30th 1739, and below p. 86.

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the words of the author of "The Sentiments of a Church of England Man". "*I think*", he quotes, "*it is clear that any great separation from the Establish'd Church, tho' to a new one that is more pure and perfect, may be an occasion of endangering the Publick Peace, because it will compose a Body always in Reserve, prepared to follow any discontented Heads, upon the plausible Pretexts of advancing true Religion and opposing Error, Superstition or Idolatry.*"

He further pretends to be afraid that by preaching to the Colliers of Kingswood, Mr. Whitefield will be the cause of a prodigious rise in the price of coals about the City of Bristol, and asserts that the same gentleman ought not to be allowed to return to Georgia, "because it is of the utmost Importance, to the happy Settlement of a new Colony, that the People of it should be instill'd with an early Love of Labour and Industry, which we may be certain can never be well supported by the pious Discipline of a Methodist".

The last sad consequence arising from the odd notions of the Methodists he believes to be "the unavoidable Ruin and Loss to the Publick, of as many young People of a Liberal Education as shall unhappily fall into their hands", for "slaves to Principles in Religion will carry along with them the Principles of Civil Slavery".[1]) It is hardly necessary to add that this writer's fears were altogether groundless as regards the great majority of Methodists. He himself might justly be accused of the same slavishness to principles in religion which he with such boldness chooses to lay at the door of his opponents.

June 1739 (p. 288 ff.). Extracts from Dr. Joseph Trapp's Sermons on Eccles. VII. 16., entitled "The Nature, Folly, Sin and Danger of being *righteous overmuch*".[2]) The learned doctor accuses the Methodists of being righteous overmuch, and while allowing that "the other extreme is indeed so far more *pernicious*, as it is more common, this is *pernicious*

[1]) Cf. extract from "Common Sense" June 30th 1739. Quoted below p. 86.

[2]) Cf. Wesley's Journals vol. I. July 1st. 1739.

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too, and, because not so much observed, is carefully to be guarded against".

In the same month is an extract from a pamphlet, entitled "The Conduct and Doctrine of the Rev. Mr. Whitefield vindicated from the Aspersions and malicious Invectives of his Enemies" (p. 292). The writer says that God raises up special men for special work, and asks where a man of better life and conversation can be found than Mr. Whitefield who has done more towards reforming the people wherever he has gone than perhaps half the clergy of the kingdom have been able to effect in ten times the number of years.

This number further contains Whitefield's answers to the Rev. Mr. T—ck—r with a reply from the latter (p. 292 ff.). These are followed by a poem "On Whitefield's Preaching" (p. 323 f.) and a passage from Whitefield's Journal for Sunday April 29th 1739 concerning Dr. Trapp (p. 329 f.). As regards the poem, it is signed by R. T. and written in heroic couplets. First the Arian preacher is described and then Whitefield is mentioned by name. The palm is given to the latter, though the worldly wise cry:

> "'*What monstrous doctrines!*'...
> *No words for such a preacher are too bad;*
> *Enthusiast, babbler, and a fool run mad*" (p. 323).

The poor in spirit, however, feel their bondage and "*for redemption cry*".

This article is concluded in the July number (p. 358) where Whitefield is spoken of as "a Gentleman, who, by his Enemies, has been held out to the World in a very different light; whose Good has been Evil spoken of, and himself made the Mockery of licentious Tongues".

In the passage quoted from Whitefield's Journal, he writes that he had heard Dr. Trapp at Christ Church preach vehemently against him and his friends upon being righteous overmuch. "God gave me great Serenity of Mind," he continues, "but alas! the Preacher was not so calm as I

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wish'd him. His sermon was founded upon wrong suppositions (the necessary Consequence of hearing with other Men's Ears), not to say there were many direct Untruths in it."

July 1739 (p. 358). Wesley is charged with the gross contradiction of asserting in the preface to his Hymns that Faith alone without good works is the only condition of our acceptance with God, and again of saying the opposite in a sermon on Ephes. II. 8., written and published in 1738. The critic thinks it would be better for Mr. Wesley to cease charging the clergy with omitting to preach the fundamental doctrines of the Christian Religion until he has reconciled this contradiction.

"Common Sense" June 30th is again quoted in order to show the impartiality of that periodical in admitting an epistle (signed R. S.) in favour of the Methodists, by way of answer to one inserted May 19th (signed P. Q.).[1]) R. S., while allowing the pernicious tendency of Enthusiasm, asserts that it cannot be suppressed by force without invading religious liberty. It would, indeed, he says, perhaps, be of advantage to the people if all were Methodists, for the latter exclaim against slavish principles and other ecclesiastical impositions. He concludes by saying that P. Q.'s principles as regards separation from the Established Church though to a new one which is more pure and perfect, "are slavish, and carry along with them the Principles of Civil Slavery, for by the same Rule that People must submit to a corrupt Church, they must submit to a corrupt Government" (p. 362).

In the same month are a few verses written anonymously in heroic couplets. They describe the Methodists as a people ruled by the "*Blest Spirit*", as taming their bodies with abstinence, and as depending chiefly on prayer. Their inward and outward life is depicted in very moderate language and altogether in their favour (p. 377).

September 1739 (p. 480ff.). An article taken from "The Craftsman" for Sept. 8th No. 687 proposes the "Scheme of a

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[1]) Cf. above p. 83f..

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new Court of Judicature, in which Methodists are to preside". This is a satire on the corruption of the government officials and on their high salaries for so little work. The number of the new court was to be limited to twenty-four, with an Archon at the head of them; the first Archon to be "the most excellent and industrious Mr. Whitefield, or in his absence the ingenious Mr. Westley". The writer further pretends to prove that his proposed Court of Methodists would not cost half as much as the salary of one single Commissioner of Excise.

November 1740 (p. 568). A Poem, entitled "Two Common Characters by Anonymous". It contains seven verses of four lines alternately rhyming. The subject is obscene and meant to spread the belief that Whitefield's followers were just as likely to indulge their passions as any body else.

January 1741 (p. 26). The reader is this month offered for perusal a long letter which purports to have been written by a Methodist to a Clergyman upon the occasion of a sermon preached by him against Infidelity, in which he urged the great importance of understanding the Holy Scriptures and the weakness of trusting to any trifling or illiterate expounders. From the tone and wretched murdering of the King's English it is obvious that it is only meant as a satire. The annotations added by the contributor are even more indecent than the letter itself. It is carrying impartiality rather too far for such a respectable periodical to allow such obscenities to appear within its covers.

May 1741 (p. 277). Whitefield's Journal for Sunday Oct. 19th 1740 is quoted, in which he says he sees it is his duty to marry and prays God will choose a wife for him. In the number for November 1741 (p. 608) we find the following laconic notice without comment: — Nov. 18. The Rev. Mr. George Whitefield — to the Widow James of Abergavenny in Wales, with 10,000 l.

November 1747 (p. 531). We have here a succinct account of the villanous conduct of Mr. Westley Hall which has been

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already mentioned in our chapter on "Methodism in Poetry".[1]) In the following January (p. 22) a letter appears from a Methodist in which he complains that the Salisbury correspondent had placed the fault of one deluded man to the account of thousands, and expresses his regret that one who from his own confession knows the Methodists so well, should speak of them with such malice. The editor adds by way of note: — "Our impartiality is called upon to insert the above letter. But in our opinion the writer of it should have considered, whether instead of defending the *methodists*, who are not accused, he has not brought a severe charge against the letter-writer, whose motive might not be malice, or *design to injure* his neighbour's reputation, but the discharge of his conscience, to prevent his *neighbours receiving injury*." Though the Salisbury correspondent, it is true, does not actually attack the Methodists as a body, yet his words seem to imply that he intended it to be so understood. Two other letters on the same subject in the Supplement for the year 1747 also took it in this light.

May 1748 (p. 236). Curiously enough Whitefield's death in Georgia is announced, which of course had to be contradicted in the next number. The reverend gentleman lived another twenty-two years!

November 1750 (p. 503). Specimens are given of Moravian Divine Poetry with a note from the editor to the effect that these hymns were supposed to have been published by Mr. Wesley, whose people were very industrious in dispersing them in order to shew how vastly inferior they were to Mr. Wesley's compositions for psalmody, "which indeed shew a poetical genius".

March 1751 (p. 115). In this month is begun a discussion which is continued and prolonged in the months of April (p. 152), May (p. 202f.), June (p. 274), July (p. 304), September (p. 400), and October (p. 446). Whitefield is accused of giving a shocking account of human nature by asserting that "man by nature is *half-brute and half-devil*". The opponents used as

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[1]) Cf. above p. 56.

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the principal argument the goodness of God and appealed especially to the following passages of scripture, Acts XVII. 29, Matt. XVIII. 4 and Romans II. 14. 15. In the defence it was represented by Whitefield's vindicator that the former had never stigmatized human nature but as degraded by corrupt propensities, principles and practice.

March 1756 (p. 103). A letter appears from Wesley on the truthfulness of the account given of the fall of Whiston Cliff near Black Hambleton, in Yorkshire. [1]) In answer to the wish expressed by the editor for further confirmation two articles appeared in the months of April and June by John Langhorne, the translator of some of "Plutarch's Lives".

March 1760 (p. 151). Upwards of £400 were collected at Whitefield's chapel and tabernacle for the relief of the distressed protestants in and about Custrin in the New Marche of Brandenburgh.

July 1760 (p. 325 f.). "An Account of the Minor, a new Comedy of three acts by Mr. Foote". [2]) In commenting on this farce the editor says that the principal object of it is the *Manners*. "It is, however," he continues, "by no means deficient in fable and incident. As it is by the author adapted to his own peculiar abilities, it is in many respects different from other productions of the same kind and is a very spirited and useful satire, very properly directed." This article is followed in November (p. 502f.) by some extracts from "Christian and Critical Remarks on a Droll or Interlude, called the Minor", and by Foote's answer. The latter asserts that his piece is a comedy and not a droll or interlude, and hopes that the characters are not strained above the modesty of nature nor their employment unsuitable to their rank, or inconsistent with their situation. He pretends to answer all the objections that had been made by a follower of Whitefield. These answers are sometimes very specious,

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[1]) Cf. also Tyerman vol. II. p. 212f. and Wesley's Journals vol. II p. 331 ff.

[2]) Cf. above p. 19 ff.

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but generally superficial, while it goes without saying that they were regardless of all reverence.

February 1761 (p. 92). In the "Historical Chronicle" of the Magazine for this month we have another statement as to collections at Whitefield's tabernacle. This time, upwards of £550 were taken for the sufferers by the fire at Boston, in New England, and the plundered protestants in the New Marche of Brandenburgh.

May 1761 (p. 204). A long discussion which is carried on through the four following months is here commenced on Mr. Hervey's doctrine of imputed righteousness. There is a great deal of bickering about words and much bitterness of feeling. Instead of keeping to the points in question the arguments get very prolix.

December 1761 (p. 601). In the "Historical Chronicle" we read that £300 were paid by Whitefield into the hands of the Rev. Mr. Ziegenhagen, His Majesty's German chaplain, being the contribution of the Welsh Methodists, towards relieving the distresses of the Prussians in Germany.

January 1762 (p. 46). The Announcement of the death of the Rev. Mr. Whitefield's wife.

The last reference to the Methodists, apart from the lists of books, is to be found in the month of June 1764 (p. 278 f.) This is in a description of Liverpool in which town it is said the Quakers had a meeting-house, as also the Methodists, "so that any person may suit his religion to his fancy".

If we ask ourselves what the result of this survey is, we must conclude, first, that this magazine assumed an attitude of fairness and impartiality towards the Methodists by admitting articles from their own party as well as from that of the enemy. Every opportunity was allowed them to defend their doctrines and their characters. Mr. Urban publishes articles and verses that are in favour of this sect though in no way polemical. In support of this statement we need only refer to the verses on Whitefield (Nov. 1737), the poem on his preaching (June 1739), the extract from his Journal (June 1739), the verses on the Methodists (July 1739), the

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article from "Common Sense" (July 1739), the defence of the Methodists in the affair at Salisbury (Nov. 1747), and the vindication of Whitefield in the discussion on the Depravity of Man (March etc. 1751).

Secondly, we see that when the reviewer thinks the Methodists are in the right or sees anything in their work that he can recommend, he is not slow to express his approval. On the other hand again, he does not hesitate to condemn the false arguments or unjustifiable zeal of the advocates of the opposite opinions. The following references may serve as a corroboration of this: — The reviewer's praise of Wesley's Hymns (Jan. 1750) especially as compared with those of the Moravians, Wesley's account (March 1756) of the fall of Whiston Cliff, and the announcement of the collections made by the Methodists for their distressed fellow-men in Germany and America (March 1760, Feb. 1761, Dec. 1761). We cannot, however, overlook the fact that the proportion of articles quoted in this magazine with a view to damage the good reputation of the Methodists as a body far exceeds those cited in their favour.

"The Monthly Review. A Periodical Work giving an Account, with proper Abstracts of, and Extracts from the New Books, Pamphlets etc. as they come out."

This is the title of the next magazine we propose to consider from the point of view of Methodism. The first volume appeared in the month of May 1749. That the undertaking was prosperous is shown by the fact that it continued to be published in the original form with two and three volumes a year up to 1790, when a new series was commenced which appeared up to the year 1836, when it was again republished in a new form. The plan of this periodical is different from that of the "Gentleman's Magazine", being strictly a literary paper; the print, moreover, is much larger and the paper better, so that even at the time of publication the simple effort of

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reading must have been attended with a higher degree of pleasure than that of the former. A very considerable part of it is devoted to religious controversies and reviews of theological works, and among others a very fair share, in fact a great deal more than in the Gentleman's Magazine, to those of the Methodists. In the following pages we shall try by suitable references and quotations to show the attitude assumed by it towards the Methodists and their leaders.

August 1749 p. 280 ff. The first reference is to be found in the review of a work which was directed especially against the Methodists and which gained a considerable reputation in its day. This was "The Enthusiasm of the Methodists and Papists compared".[1]) The first part of this work together with a reply from Whitefield had already been published before the first number of the Review. Then a second part, with a preface to Whitefield, was published and it is this part which is here reviewed most especially. The author, though allowing the need of a reformation, does not believe it can be accomplished either by an enthusiastic or fanatical head. He calls the Methodist preachers "the most wild and extravagant, the most ridiculous, strolling, fanatical, delirious, and mischievous of all the saints of the Romish communion". He further charges the Methodists with being hypocrites, with traducing the clergy, with being attended by a sturdy set of followers as their guards, with constantly producing something novel or uncommon to prevent the itch from going off, and with ascribing their zeal to the extraordinary interposition of heaven setting its seal to their mission. Yet he owns, that for want of leisure, or inclination, he has never seen several of their works, and has relied chiefly on their "Journals". Whitefield, in his answer, defends himself from the several charges, but confesses that he had said several unguarded things about Archbishop Tillotson and had "unwarily dropped up and down in his journals several things that had given too much occasion for reflection". He then proceeds to give an account of the doctrines held by

[1]) Cf. above pp. 39 and 67.

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the Methodists which he plainly says are those of the reformation. The conclusion of this review is given in the following month of September (p. 321 ff.). In the preface to Whitefield, "the comparer", says the reviewer, "answers Mr. Whitefield's objections in order, one after another, with an air of triumph, and indeed in so masterly a manner, as seems to bid fair for putting a speedy end to the controversy". The comparer among other things tries to make much of the divisions and offences among the Methodists themselves. In the second part of his work the author of "The Enthusiasm etc." finds among the papists parallel instances of the charges he brings against the Methodists. In nineteen sections he speaks of their triumph on account of their success in preaching, of their extravagant language, of their pretensions to the special favour of God, and of their mutual jealousies, including those of Mr. Wesley and the Moravians as well as those of Mr. Whitefield.

In conclusion the reviewer, who is himself evidently tired of the whole discussion, writes: — "But what need we quote more? Let us stop here, and ask with the Comparer, is this methodism? 'And reign such mortal feuds in heavenly minds?' But how stands the question among the disciples? Why, one party sticks to Whitefield, whose *another* gospel is better than Wesley's *another gospel.* A second party sticks to Wesley for just as good a reason. Some are so lost to grace, that they *renounce both* of them, leaving methodism totally in the lurch. In general they are all by the ears."

December 1749. Art. L. p. 114. The reviewer in his remarks on "A Letter to the Rev. Mr. George Whitefield occasioned by his Remarks on a Pamphlet, entitled 'The Enthusiasm'" etc. shows his desire to be impartial by expressing his opinion that the author is "a bigotted Churchman and is angry with the Methodists not so much for deviating from the principles of the true primitive church of Christ, as for having the assurance to slight the establish'd doctrines of the church of which he is a member". He concludes by saying that he has not room for a particular view of the author's animadversions on Mr. Whitefield.

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November 1750. Art. VIII. p. 33. "The Impostor detected: Or the counterfeit Saint turned inside out. Containing a full Discovery of the horrid Blasphemies, and Impieties taught by those diabolical Seducers called Methodists etc. By John Kirkby, Rector of Blackmanstone in Kent."

The reviewer points out that the expectations raised by the title are not fulfilled. The author rails at Mr. Wesley as the "Impostor", but produces no facts against him. He shows himself to be a churchman of violent spirits and principles. As the author disclaims in his last paragraph on "this great calamity that has befallen the church and which calls for the solemn fasts and humiliations of the same, to beseech God to preserve us from the vengeance which these abominable blasphemies and daring impieties threaten every day to bring upon us", the reviewer is moved to say in conclusion: — "We are, after all, extremely glad to find our author is not so far gone in zeal, as to propose other means for bringing back these deluded people to their right minds, than constant and earnest intercessions put up for them at the throne of grace."

November 1750. Art. XI p. 36. An extract is given from Wesley's "Journals" (Sept. 3rd 1741—Oct. 27th 1743) with the laconic remark that "the tract is so much of a piece with the extracts from the methodist journals given in our first volume[1]) that we shall say nothing more of it here".

September 1751. Art. XXXV. p. 296. "The Enthusiasm of the Methodists and Papists compared. Part. III."[2]) The reviewer takes this opportunity of saying that the learned and ingenious author had addressed this part to Mr. Wesley and that it is filled with just and severe, but general animadversions, not only on the Wesleys, but the whole tribe of methodist preachers.

January 1752. Art. XIV. p. 80. "A Third Letter to the author of a Piece entitled, 'The Enthusiasm of Methodists

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[1]) Cf. pp. 280, 321.

[2]) Cf. above p. 92 f.

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and Papists compared' ". Mr. Perronet, the author, is spoken of as a smart controversialist, and the most formidable antagonist that had entered the lists against the comparer in defence of the Methodists.

April 1752. Art. XI. p. 312. "Predestination calmly considered. By John Wesley M. A." In recognition of Wesley's services in the discussion on the subject of this pamphlet it is said here that he "smartly, and in our opinion successfully encounters the doctrine of unconditional election and reprobation".

In the Appendix to Vol. VIII. Art. LXI. p. 484, is a notice of the notable expostulatory letter addressed by Whitefield to Nicholas Lewis Count Zinzendorf and lord advocate of the Unitas Fratrum.

January 1755. Art. I. p. 75. "A Dissertation on Enthusiasm etc. By Thomas Green M. A. Vicar of Wymeswould." The reviewer speaks of having read this dissertation with no small pleasure, for, he says, the author writes with candour and judgment and with a seeming desire of promoting the interests of sober and rational piety.

June 1755. Art. VII. p. 479. About the account by Whitefield of the extraordinary processions and other ecclesiastical entertainments he had seen at Lisbon, the reviewer contents himself with saying but very little. He is, however, impartial enough to say that Mr. Whitefield "expresses a just and manly resentment of the miserable bigotry of the Portuguese, and the priestly delusion with which they are so blindly led into even more ridiculous fopperies than ever disgraced the pagan theology".

March 1756. Article VII p. 256. A compliment is paid Wesley for his letter to Law, occasioned by his tracts on the "Spirit of Prayer" and the "Spirit of Love". His observations are said to be very pertinent and sensible, and his advice excellent. In the following Article VIII p. 257 Whitefield is complimented on his "Address to Persons of all Denominations, occasioned by the Alarm of an intended Invasion".

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November 1757 p. 445. "The Doctrine of Original Sin, according to Scripture, Reason and Experience. By J. Wesley." This work was called forth and directed against Dr. Taylor's writings on the same subject. Wesley speaks of the former's scheme as being "more dangerous than open Deism itself". After quoting a long passage in which Wesley tries to prove the fact of original sin from scripture, the reviewer makes the remark that it was not with pleasure, but with reluctance that he had been obliged to exhibit specimens of Mr. Wesley's manner of arguing, but that otherwise his remarks would have appeared groundless and have been suspected to have proceeded from partiality. He professes, however, that he had quoted them not to shew the weakness of Mr. Wesley's cause, but the insufficiency of the arguments he used. After again citing Wesley who asserts that the source of sin was Adam, the reviewer concludes his criticism by saying that such arguments which exhibit much affection of learning and critical skill cannot fail to disgust the judicious, as much as they will please and gain admiration from readers of a *certain* complexion.

November 1759. Art. XXIV. p. 456. As a result of the discussions on Dr. Free's "Articles proposed to the Court of Assistants of the Worshipful Company of Salters", [1]) the reviewer begs the doctor to put aside his fears that the established religion will be totally undermined and to take to himself the excellent advice which Gamaliel gave to the Jews.

October 1760. Art. X. p. 327. "A Letter from the Rev. George Whitefield B. A. to the Rev. Laurence Sterne M. A." is at once stamped as being nonsensical and profane. "The impudence of our low, dirty, hedge-Publishers", says the reviewer, "is now risen to a most shameful height. To take such scandalous liberties with names, as is here done with that of Mr. Whitefield, is surely un-

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[1]) Cf. May 1758. Art. XXXVI. p. 499; Appendix to Vol. XVIII. Art. XXVIII. p. 654 f.

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sufferable, in any well-regulated community! and if it is not in that Gentleman's power to procure redress of such a flagrant injury, it is high time to provide the means of preventing, or punishing, such audacious proceedings for the future."

As in the "Gentleman's Magazine",[1]) so also here we find several articles[2]) on the subject of Mr. Foote's "Minor". The reviewer considers that he acquitted himself much better in the serious than in the ludicrous part of his "Letter to the Reverend Author of the Remarks, Critical and Christian on the Minor".[3]) "It is a crude piece", he says, "thrown out with little regard to method or correctness, but what more could be expected from such a volatile Genius?" A letter[4]) on the same subject to David Garrick, with the intent to prove it to be unfit for representation, is highly approved of by the reviewer, and yet in an article on the "Life of Erasmus"[5]) the methodist preachers are spoken of as affected actors who affect their auditors also, and it is said further that against such impostors and hypocrites argument avails but little. "Therefore we cannot but greatly extol the design of the Mimick, who lately attempted to expose this sect to ridicule; though we think his performance, in many respects, highly reprehensible, not to say contemptible." The reviewer thus shows himself to be fully in sympathy with the motives which incited Foote to write his play, although he is obliged to criticise his performance more severely than he cares to.

August 1761 p. 121. The reviewer quotes largely from a letter addressed to the Rev. Mr. Whitefield in which the principles and practices of the Methodists are considered. It is said to be couched in very seasonable and moderate terms and that the friends of a rational method of treating religious

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[1]) Cf. above p. 89 f.
[2]) Oct., Nov. 1760, Feb. 1761.
[3]) Oct. 1760. Art. XI. p. 328.
[4]) Nov. 1760. Art. V. p. 407.
[5]) Sept. 1760 p. 199.

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subjects, who wish to see the principles of the Methodists shown in a clear light, only need to read this pamphlet.

December 1761 p. 414f. "Sermons on various Subjects. By the late Rev. Mr. John Downes, formerly Rector of St. Michael, Wood Street, and Lecturer of St. Mary-Le-Bow." Though the author's style is admitted to be clear and manly, it is said that it is not correct. As far as the severe attacks on the Methodists are concerned "this work", says the reviewer, "is very reasonable and will be agreeable to every rational Christian". On the other hand, Mr. Tyerman, [1]) speaking of this author's bitterness and trenchant railings, quotes a letter from Wesley, [2]) in which the latter says that if Mr. Downes can prove any one of the charges he has advanced against him, he may call him not only a wolfling or a wolf, but an otter, if he pleases.

September 1762. Art. XXXVI. p. 235f. The reviewer is here more severe on the moral character of the Methodists than he is elsewhere, and we think unjustly, for though the immediate subject in question is fanatical and anything but edifying, yet it is not right to suggest immoral thoughts and charge them to the whole body of Methodists. The book reviewed is called "The Seraphical Shepherd. Being a very remarkable Account of a Shepherd in France, about eighteen Years of Age; who, without any other Means than the Scriptures, and the teachings of God's holy Spirit, attained to a very uncommon and evangelical knowledge of the true God, and Jesus Christ whom he hath sent. Translated from the French, with Notes, by Cornelius Cayley." This long title sufficiently explains the nature of the book itself. The same Mr. Cayley had several years previously published an account of his own conversion which was also reviewed in this periodical. [3]) Mr. Cayley is not actually spoken of as being a Methodist, but as one of "our modern saints", and yet it seems to be taken for granted

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[1]) Vol. II. p. 342ff.
[2]) Dated Nov. 17th 1759.
[3]) Cf. Appendix Vol. XIX. p. 615.

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that he was one, for after quoting some verses of his from a dedicatory epistle to Jesus Christ in which the writer says: —

> *"... at thy wounded, pierced feet,*
> *With Mary, I will take my seat,"*

the reviewer continues, "Who this Mrs. Mary is, that is to bear Mr. Cayley company on the occasion above intimated, we are not informed; but, doubtless, it must be some favourite female Saint, from the purlieus of Moorfields or Tottenham Court. Aye! aye! let these Methodists alone for a tête-à-tête with the Ladies! Sly rogues! wherever they take up their quarters, they are seldom at a loss for good accommodation!" If this is not a libel, what is?

From November 1762 to December 1763 a great deal of space is allotted to articles on the Bishop of Gloucester's "Doctrine of Grace", in which he is said by the reviewer "to maul" poor John Wesley without mercy. Of Wesley's defence it is said that "he has answered the Bishop's book with all that art, address and specious appearance of primitive integrity, decency and dove-like innocence, which must be naturally expected by such as are acquainted with the character of a man who is so much master of his own, as well as of other men's passions".[1]) The reviewer thus doubts Wesley's sincerity and further speaks of his 'Jesuitical evasions'. A letter[2]) purporting to be an answer to Mr. Wesley from the learned doctor Samuel Chandler is declared to be very impertinent and even worse than that, a forgery.

May 1763. Art. I. p. 394. A pamphlet is reviewed in which Whitefield makes some observations on some fatal mistakes in "The Doctrine of Grace". The reviewer has to confess that Mr. Whitefield made two or three pretty successful sallies, in which he turns the artillery of his antagonist upon the Bishop himself, but says that the latter might retort upon his adversary what he in his turn has been charged

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[1]) Cf. March 1763 Art. V. p. 235.
[2]) Cf. April 1763 Art. V. p. 315.

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with. Whitefield's closing words are recommended to the serious consideration of all the clergy. The former quotes the answer given by Bishop Burnet who, on being asked how the progress of puritan ministers could be stopped, replied: "*Out-live, out-labour, out-preach them*". Similar advice is given by John Andrews L. L. D. of St. Mary-Hall, Oxford, in a article quoted in December 1763 (p. 428 ff.).

March 1765. Art. II. p. 226. Wesley is referred to as being a very free-thinker compared with the Rev. Mr. Hervey, "who, poor, honest, simple soul! was indeed far gone in fanaticism".

January 1768 p. 51. For the first time in this Review Charles Wesley appears on the scene on the occasion of a severe criticism of his "Short Hymns on select Passages of the Holy Scriptures".[1]) The reviewer gives specimens of the worst in the collection and then speaks of the language as "spiritual Billingsgate" and of the hymns themselves as "the prettiest pieces of Moravianism". He does not even mention that the volume contained any good hymns at all, but excuses the author by supposing that he had thus burlesqued the Scriptures quite undesignedly. As if he were conscious that he had not been speaking in earnest, he says: — "Seriously, are these rhyming enthusiasts not apprehensive of the fate of Uzziah on account of their indecent freedom with the holy word of God?"

In the discussion caused by the expulsion of six students from Edmund Hall, Oxford, on account of their methodistical principles, the reviewer is in full sympathy with the authorities. He is, however, obliged to acknowledge the force of the defence of the students in a pamphlet called "Pietas Oxoniensis" by a Master of Arts of the University.[2]) He thinks that it is likely to do a great deal of harm if not properly exposed and refuted.

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[1]) Printed 1762.

[2]) June 1768 Arts. XLIII—XLV. p. 511 ff. See also: Feb. 1769 Art. XXIX. p. 164. June 1769 Art. XXVI. p. 515; Art. XXVII. p. 515.

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February 1769. Art. XXIV. p. 162. The most extravagant expressions used against the Methodists are perhaps to be found in Samuel Roe's "Enthusiasm detected and defeated". He is said to be the greatest enthusiast against enthusiasm ever to be met with, and to have represented the Methodists as the "saddest wretches!" He proposes that the government should have the tongues of the Tabernacle preachers and of all Field-teachers cut out! Whereupon, the reviewer suggests that perhaps Mr. R. would be the only man in the kingdom who would undertake to put this sentence into execution.

On the occasion of Mr. Whitefield's death at Newberyport, near Boston, New England, on Sept. 30th 1770, quite a number of sermons, and discourses are announced in the Review.[1])

January 1771. Art. XLIII. p. 90. "A Monody on the Death of the Reverend Mr. George Whitefield." In spite of a number of passages which the reviewer quotes as being inelegant, he confesses that though unequal, it is in many places truly poetical. Having expected trash he was agreeably disappointed.

In the following article (XLIV. p. 90 f.) which has for its subject another poem on the death of Mr. Whitefield, the reviewer is very laconic, possibly in consequence of the author professing not to care a pin for the reviewer. The latter answers that he is sorry that the reviewers do not stand in a more respectable light with so extraordinary a genius, for there is something altogether striking in the novelty of his ideas, of which he proceeds to give four specimens. It will be here sufficient to quote two. Mr. Whitefield's tongue, the poet tells us, was loosed by prayer; and what then? — Why then he was silent:

> *"Prayer loos'd his guilt-bound tongue, his lifted hands*
> *In s i l e n t rapture then his God ador'd."*

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[1]) Nov. 1770 p. 406, Dec. 1770 p. 504, July 1771 p. 79.

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He next informs us what this great man endured; and that was — what everybody else endures!

"Each season's various changes he endured."

Of Charles Wesley's "Elegy" [1]) on the same occasion the reviewer takes no notice, except to find fault with a single passage:

"Till quite forsaken both of man and God,
Jesus appear'd, and help'd his unbelief."

"We have been told by most divines", says the reviewer, "that the Author of our religion was both man and God; many have asserted that he was no more than man, but Mr. Charles Wesley it seems will have it that he was neither." It seems quite evident that the reviewer himself did not understand the passage. The next article is also a review of an elegy on Mr. Whitefield, by B. Francis. Here again the reviewer limits himself to render prominent a passage which to him seemed to be all the more humorous in a doleful elegy:

"The gay, the wanton, for redemption groan,
And drunkards thirst — for living streams alone."

May 1771. Art. XXVII. p. 421. In the dispute carried on between the Rev. Mr. Toplady and Thomas Olivers, occasioned by the attack of the former on Mr. Wesley, [2]) after shewing that the champions are well-matched, especially as to rough language, the reviewer makes the following severe, but just remark: "But is it not shameful that, instead of being busied in some honest and useful occupation, any persons should employ their pens in a manner which, among some kind of readers, may tend to expose religion itself to ridicule or neglect!"

March 1772. Art. XII. p. 226. "Eighteen Sermons preached by the late Rev. George Whitefield

[1]) Feb. 1771. Art. XXXVIII. p. 174.
[2]) June 1770. Art. XXIII. p. 482.

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A. M." The reviewer again contents himself with picking out a few of the most extravagant passages and describes them as "strongly characteristic of this celebrated itinerant preacher". He, however, feels himself obliged to tone down this criticism when he comes to review "The Works of the Reverend George Whitefield".[1]) Here, speaking of that gentleman's sermons, he says: — "We perceive in them very few of those peculiar flights of fancy, and strong touches of tabernacle oratory, which so richly abounded in a late volume of his discourses, noticed in our Review. They are, indeed, for the most part, such discourses as might be expected from a sober, sensible and pious Calvinistical preacher". At the same time he refers to one sermon which, he says, had been taken *verbatim* from one of the celebrated Dr. Doddridge's and published by Mr. Whitefield as his own. "In that case", the reviewer asks, "what are we to think of the conduct of Mr. Whitefield, whom we have always regarded as an honest enthusiast? honesty and enthusiasm being by no means incompatible."[2]) However, in his remarks on the "Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. George Whitefield",[3]) by the Rev. John Gillies D. D. he admits that "this 'great apostle of the present age' was without doubt, a most extraordinary man; and we believe, very sincere in his ministry".

In the long dispute between the Calvinists and Antinomians, on which subject articles appear from December 1771 to January 1775,[4]) the reviewer takes up a neutral position and constantly laments that such talents should be wasted in disputing questions in which neither party will lay himself open to conviction, and which consequently do far more general harm than good. He compliments Mr. Fletcher on

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[1]) July 1772. Art. XXXIV. p. 79.

[2]) Cf. Appendix Note E. p. 160.

[3]) Sept. 1772. Art. XXXVI. p. 249.

[4]) Dec. 1771 Art. XXXII. p. 500; April 1772 Arts. LXXI., LXXII. p. 468; Aug. 1772 Arts. LI—LIV. p. 159 f.; Nov. 1772 Art. XIII. p. 397; March 1773 Arts. XV., XVI., XVII. p. 240; July 1774 Art. LI. p. 78; Jan. 1775 Art. LI. p. 93.

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"his sober, decent and seasonable defence against the sharp attacks of Messrs Shirley, Hill etc.", [1]) but speaks of Mr. Hill's weapons being "wit and argument which he handles so dexterously, that we cannot help wishing to see them more usefully employed".

September 1774. Art. XIII. p. 234ff. "Thoughts upon Slavery. By John Wesley A. M." With the views here expressed the reviewer agrees entirely and quotes at large. In the following article he even takes up cudgels for the reverend gentleman against the writer of "A Supplement to Mr. Wesley's Pamphlet, entitled Thoughts upon Slavery", in which the latter tries to use the *argumentum ad hominem* against Mr. Wesley, in order to lead his readers totally away from the subject in question, by seducing them to a laugh at the Methodists. The reviewer, however, justly remarks that all this does not prove that "the tyrannic dominion we assume over the negroes is either consistent with religion or humanity" (Art. XIV. p. 237).

October 1775. Art. XV. p. 349. "A calm Address to our American Colonies. By John Wesley A. M." This address called forth a lengthened and heated controversy on the subject in the Review. [2]) Wesley's opponents deal very severely with him, accusing him of being a Jacobite, of acting the political incendiary, of Jesuitism, and of having an American bishopric in view. The reviewer points out that Mr. Wesley's address is simply a revival of the principles expressed by Dr. Johnson in his celebrated pamphlet on Taxation, [3]) and he further laments that Mr. Fletcher had thought it necessary to defend such Jacobitical doctrines. Neither Dr. Johnson's nor Wesley's opinions on the liberty of colonists can be approved of even apart from the judgment we can nowadays form on this particular sub-

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[1]) April 1772 Art. LXXII. p. 468.

[2]) Cf. Oct. 1775 Art. XVI p. 350; Nov. 1775 Arts. XII., XIII., XV., XVI. p. 438 ff.; Dec. 1775 Art. XV. p. 514; April 1776 Arts. XI. XII., XIII. p. 325 f.

[3]) Cf. Review, March 1775 Art. XV. p. 253.

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ject from the coign of vantage of present criticism, but no one can surely doubt the sincerity or the disinterestedness of the one or the other of these two faithful subjects of their king and country.

Of two of Wesley's works on non-theological subjects that appeared about this time, neither meets with the full approval of the reviewer. On the contrary, his "Primitive Physic" is said to show the most disgraceful ignorance, and though the reviewer has to admit that Mr. Hawes, the apothecary, in his "Examination"[1]) of this work is not always accurate and sagacious, he allows that his animadversions are commonly just and that he has satisfactorily evinced the dangerous tendency of the work.

Of Wesley's "Concise History of England",[2]) the reviewer does not see that the compiler has carried out the purpose he had set before him, namely, that of publishing a Christian history, "for", he says, "religious observations are not so frequently interwoven with the narration, as might be expected from a man of good sense and warm piety".

We think that the reviewer again carries his impartiality too far in condescending even to a criticism of the low effusions of an anonymous would-be poet. These are entitled "The Saints, a Satire; Perfection, a poetical Epistle; Sketches for Tabernacle Frames, a poem"; and "The Love Feast".[3]) They are all unmerciful attacks on Wesley, his associates and his followers and are usually accompanied by ungodly frontispieces. They are severely criticised as they deserved, but the reviewer does not express his indignation strongly enough at the object for which these "excruciating rhymes" were composed. He contents himself with exclaiming: — "Poor old John Wesley!" Finally, however, in the number for June 1779[4]) when he has to review two more performances of a similar character, he is

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[1]) May 1776 Art. XXXVIII. p. 419.
[2]) Jan. 1777 Art. XXIX. p. 71.
[3]) Cf. above p. 64 f.
[4]) Arts. XXIX., XXX. p. 478.

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quite surfeited with this low satire and asks why the author does not expend his poetic ammunition on knaves and hypocrites in which the nation abounds. The titles of these two poems are: "Fanatical Conversion; or Methodism displayed", and "Voltaire's Ghost to the Apostle of the Sinless Foundery". Referring to the latter, the reviewer remarks that "the ghost of M. de Voltaire may, indeed, condescend to cope with an itinerant preacher; but the living Voltaire would not have deigned to notice so unequal an antagonist".

March 1781. Art. VI. p. 209f. "The Ancient and Modern History of the Brethren (Unitas Fratrum). By David Crantz. Translated from the German by Benjamin La Trobe." In reviewing this work the reviewer takes the opportunity of quoting Dr. Warburton as having said that Mr. Wesley, according to his own words, "*could* a tale unfold" to the great discomfiture of the Moravians. The reviewer asks why Mr. Wesley did not reveal what he knew and so do an essential service to the church. He can only conceive that it was done purposely and artfully, so that imagination might make it to be much more serious than the reality. But on the supposition that Mr. Wesley could relate a story "a thousand times worse than anything that had yet been told of these wretches", he asks further, if on that account the whole church is to be branded with infamy, because some of its members have wickedly abused its institutions? "Mr. Wesley, for his own sake", he concludes, "and for the sake of Methodism in general, must answer these questions in the negative."

September 1781. Art. IX. p. 232. In considering "A Persian Epistle from Solim, Eunuch at the Grand Seraglio at Ispahan, to the Rev. Dr. Martin Madan, on the publication of the late Koran, called Thelyphthora", the reviewer takes the opportunity of defending the Methodists as a body against the attack made on them in the poem, which is principally directed against Westley Hall, whose teachings were held in abhorrence and contempt by John Wesley. [1])

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[1]) Cf. above pp. 33 and 56.

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From this date up to July 1789 we have found only one reference to the Methodists and that in March 1785.[1]) This gap points to the fact that the new sect was being gradually recognised as a factor in the community and was allowed to follow its own devices without any fear of persecution. The reference above mentioned is a review of the "Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica", in which particular notice is taken of the Wesley family, but especially of the founder of Methodism, "to whose character", says the reviewer, "it seems to do justice, at the same time that it pleads for him, not only as an excellent companion, but in spite of censure, an honest man". Strangely enough very little notice is taken of his brother Charles.

Before 1791, the year of Wesley's death, we have but two or three unimportant articles on the subject of Methodism. In the latter year, however, we have several reviews which were caused by the publication of Colet's "Impartial Review of the Life and Writings; public and private Character of the late Rev. Mr. John Wesley";[2]) of "Lines in Memory of the Rev. Mr. John Wesley;[3]) of Whitehead's "Sermon" at Mr. Wesley's funeral;[4]) of "Wesley's Letters" by Dr. Joseph Priestley; and of John Hampson's "Memoirs of Mr. Wesley".[5])

Further, "The Life of the Rev. John Wesley" by Dr. Coke and Moore was reviewed in September 1794[6]) and that by Dr. Whitehead in October 1794[7]) (vol. I.) and in June 1797[8]) (vol. II.).

In all these cases the reviewer maintains his old position of impartiality, despensing blame and praise where he thinks they are due. Of Colet's "Life", he says that the author (a nephew of Wesley) had been too eager to be the first

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[1]) Art. VI. p. 189 ff.
[2]) June 1791 Art. XXXI. p. 218.
[3]) July 1791 Art. XXXIII. p. 342.
[4]) July 1791 Art. LIV. p. 356.
[5]) Dec. 1791 Art. IV. p. 389 ff.
[6]) Art. IV. p. 28 f.
[7]) Art. VIII. p. 159.
[8]) Art. IV. p. 137.

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in the field and that he had left impressions which were rather disadvantageous to his uncle. A little more time, thought and judgment might have improved his performance.

With the "Lines in Memory of Mr. Wesley" the reviewer is pleasingly disappointed and after quoting a long passus from the poem concludes by saying: — "Wesley's real *worth* is, in our opinion, demonstrated by nothing more convincingly, than by his dying (reader, forgive the pun) *worth* nothing. It proves that the influence, which he acquired and long preserved over a numerous sect, was not employed to any sordid purpose. The poverty of such a man enriches his fame."

In speaking of Mr. Whitehead's "Sermon", the reviewer again takes the opportunity of bearing testimony to the character of Wesley. He says: — "If Mr. Wesley's sentiments were not the truth, he certainly treated them as if they were; for it is impossible that any man could be more earnest and indefatigable in propagating them than he was. His life was truly apostolic, and even those who find themselves unable to receive his tenets are nevertheless irresistibly prompted to venerate the man." In a note we read that this testimony is borne with sincere pleasure, notwithstanding the severe censure which Mr. Wesley thought fit to pass on the review in one of his journals on account of some sentimental differences with him in respect to some religious speculations. Hampson's "Memoirs" are criticised very favourably by the reviewer, who believes the author to be a faithful biographer, though he thinks it probable that "very partial friends and warm admirers of the Apostle of Methodism may, in some places, be displeased with them". The most prominent feature of Wesley's character is considered by Hampson to be fondness for power and he asserts that "during the last ten or fifteen years of his supremacy, he was the most absolute of monarchs". It must, however, not be forgotten that Hampson and others, who could not agree with Wesley on points of church government and whose names were after-

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wards (1784)[1]) omitted in the selection of representatives made according to the Deed of Declaration — Methodism's Magna Charta, drawn up for the special purpose of defining what was to be henceforth meant by the term "Conference" —, had thus to experience their leader's power in a special degree. Wesley also wrote a vindication of his so-called "power" as early as at the conference of the year 1766.[2])

Wesley's "Life" by Dr. Coke and Mr. Moore is said to contain every important and interesting fact in the life of that great man, but otherwise the reviewer is rather bitter in his remarks, especially because the work is drawn up in the "methodistical style", and the authors lay too much stress on the violent emotions which were considered to be of necessity attendant on conversion. In conclusion, the reviewer affirms that, in spite of their aversion to be called Dissenters, the Methodists really do come under this denomination, for though admitting the doctrines, they will not submit to the authority of the National Church.

Of Dr. Whitehead's "Life of John Wesley" the reviewer speaks in the highest praise. "It is", he says, "superior in point of composition and accuracy, and loses nothing when compared with his competitors." The perusal of the second volume induces him rather to heighten than retract his former encomium and he concludes by designating the work "the most authentic, as well as the best written life of the extraordinary man whom it celebrates".

In reviewing the Review as far as its attitude towards the Methodists is concerned, we are again, as in the case of the "Gentleman's Magazine", necessitated to recognise the spirit of opposition to Methodism in general. This spirit of opposition is, however, not always equal. The reviewer tries to be impartial by admitting articles or rather by reviewing articles on all phases of the question. Sometimes he is very bitter and sarcastic. At other times, he expresses himself more moderately and occasionally says a word or two of compli-

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[1]) Tyerman vol. III p. 422.
[2]) Ib. vol. II p. 577 ff.

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ment. We notice that the opposition is strongest from the year 1749 (i. e. the first year of issue) to 1770 when Whitefield died. From this time the attacks and indeed references of any kind appear less often. After the gap from 1781 to 1791, during which decennium only three or four unimportant articles are mentioned, the occasion of the publication of several biographies of John Wesley is made use of, in order to pay the founder of Methodism at least the respect due to a great and sincere man, who for half a century had been the leader of an ever-increasing religious society. As long as he himself was alive, this society remained in a formal connection with the National Church, but very soon after his death, it separated and became a distinct sect.

"The Mirror, a Periodical Paper." [1])

This paper appeared for the first time on Saturday January 23rd 1779 and was continued every Tuesday and Saturday until May 27th 1780.[2]) A hundred and ten numbers were published in all. The first is an introductory paper in which the author gives some account of his intentions and discusses the reception a work of this sort is likely to meet with. The second number contains various opinions about the Mirror, supposed to have been overheard by the author in the shop of the editor. Among others who had given their views on the subject an elderly gentleman prognosticated that the paper would become a vehicle of scepticism and that he expected Hume's works would be introduced into it. Another man who is described as being short and squat, with a carbuncled face, maintained that it was intended for the spread of Methodism and he believed that a disciple of Mr. Wesley was the author.

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[1]) The "Mirror" was published by a society of literary gentlemen at Edinburgh, and Mr. Henry Mackenzie was intrusted with the conduct of the work. Cf. "Biographia Dramatica", vol. I. Part. II. p. 468.

[2]) No. 5 appeared on a Wednesday as the previous Tuesday had been appointed for the day of the National Fast.

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All manner of subjects are treated, for instance, Beauty, Pedantry, Duelling, The Poems of Ossian, Travelling, Shakespeare, Criticisms etc. No. 64 is headed "Of Good Company; in a letter from Modestus". The writer describes an evening passed in so-called good company. Cards soon took the place of conversation. Supper was served very late, and at the same time a gentleman made his appearance whose coming had been looked forward to with some impatience. He was said to be possessed of an infinite fund of humour and superior talents for conversation. He was allowed to talk without any interruption and after a few glasses was requested to sing an innocent song. Some were emboldened to ask him to sing again and this time a little free, and "just before the second bottle was called for, he took off a Methodist preacher with great applause". The ladies now retired and left the gentlemen to pass the rest of the night in carousing. The writer is disappointed and disgusted. If we can speak of any tendency of this paper in regard to Methodism it is rather in favour of it than against it.

"The American Museum or Repository of Ancient and Modern Fugitive Pieces etc. Prose and Poetical."

This periodical was published from January 1787 to December 1792, when it ceased to exist because the business of the publisher as bookseller had increased to such an extent as to render it impossible for him to pay the requisite attention to it, and also because of a new post-office law by which the postmaster had absolutely refused to receive the Museum into the post-office on any terms.

Very little is said about the Methodist movement. All we have, besides a few single notices about Wesley's death and preaching,[1]) are a couple of anecdotes on Whitefield, told entirely in his favour. One is perhaps espe-

[1]) 1789 May p. 502, 1791 April p. 32, June p. 42.

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cially interesting as probably being the fullest account we have of a saying of Whitefield's[1]) which is still often quoted, but oftener ascribed to somebody else than the above named gentleman. This anecdote occurs in March 1788[2]) and runs as follows: "When George Whitefield first came to Charleston in South-Carolina, the rev. Alexander Garden was episcopal minister of that place. Not liking Whitefield's principles, he took occasion to preach a sermon against him from the following text: 'Behold, those that have turned the world upside down, are come hither also.' In the afternoon of the same day, Whitefield, in his turn, retorted upon his antagonist to a very crowded audience, and with all the wit and satire for which he was so remarkable, from these words of St. Paul: 'Alexander, the Coppersmith, hath done me much evil, the Lord reward him according to his works'. — Soon after, Garden, not to be outdone, took occasion to declaim with some heat, against the light and trifling tunes used in Whitefield's church, as being too theatrical and gay for holy worship, and such as had been long appropriated to prophane songs and airs. 'Very true, doctor,' said Whitefield, in his next lecture; 'but, pray, Sir, *can you assign any good reason, why the devil should always be in possession of the best tunes?*'"

"The London Magazine or Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer."

This magazine was commenced in the year 1733, but has only been accessible to us from 1755 to 1757 and from 1760 to 1763. We find, however, that during these seven years and especially during the years 1760—61, the Methodist question was discussed pretty freely. The first article on the subject is in October 1757, entitled "A Dozen of Reasons for tolerating Fortune Tellers" (p. 482 f.), which is also cited by

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[1]) Also quoted in the Lady's Magazine for November 1782.
[2]) Vol. III. p. 272.

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Tyerman,[1]) who styles it the most malignant onset of the year and designates its attacks as "silly calumnies and falsehoods of the first magnitude". Among other things, 'Dr. Faustus', the author, accuses the Methodist preachers of "chowsing men, or even women, out of their lands and tenements, of terrifying their followers out of their little wits, as Bedlam and every private mad-house about town can testify, and of causing a poor woman literally to fulfil scripture by pulling out one of her eyes; because, we suppose, they told her, that she had looked upon a handsome young fellow of her acquaintance with a longing eye". Further, he asserts that the Methodists, being formed into numerous societies, are dangerous to the government and cause the jealousy, or provoke the resentment of the Established Church. As fortune tellers are free from all these accusations they ought to be tolerated! The editor of the Magazine evidently believed in fair play in discussions on religious subjects and hence, in three succeeding numbers, we have a vigorous defence of the sect thus attacked, signed by a Methodist.[2]) He first reproaches 'Dr. Faustus' for joking at a time when England was called to serious humiliation and shows him how unwise it was of him to try and stir up a spirit of persecution against an innocent people, who were real friends to their country and heartily attached to the royal family. He then proceeds to answer Dr. Faustus's attacks in a succinct and cogent manner. The latter must have felt himself beaten or his conscience smitten, for he did not even take the trouble to defend his assertions.

In the years 1760 and 1761 are several discussions about the Methodists, carried on by correspondents of both parties, the editor having in a note[3]) made a special request for answers, as he wished to remain impartial.

March 1760 p. 168. T. S. writes proposing certain questions as to the attitude of the Methodists to the Toleration

[1]) Vol. II. p. 292 f.
[2]) Cf. pp. 526; 588 and 636.
[3]) June 1760 p. 296.

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Act, for, he says, "if they are not dissenters, they cannot put themselves under its protection". Further he asks whether many of the fugitive itinerant preachers, who swarm through many parts of England, may not be employed, as emissaries of the Church of Rome. In a letter dated May 19th 1760 (p. 298 f.), he again writes in reply to answers that had been sent to him. He says the author knows nothing about the Toleration Act, designates his answers as "a wild ramble", and proposes other questions on the doctrines and conduct of the Methodists.

June 1760 p. 296. T. A. sends a long epistle in which he has included ten questions for the Methodists. Among other subjects, he refers to the Toleration Act, and to the jurisdiction of the chief-magistrate over such assemblies as the Methodists hold, his questions, however, being partly directed against Wesley and Whitefield, and partly against individual preachers. The answer to one question, he says, will establish or overthrow Methodism, namely, whether it be possible to distinguish the acts of the mind from the acts of the spirit?

In July 1760 p. 354 f. T. A. publicly thanks the editor for his great candour and strict impartiality in accepting his previous letter and in offering a place in his Magazine for answers. He then tries to show that he had not exaggerated the amount of the profits made by the Methodist preachers, and finally in a postscript rejoices over the treatment met with by the Methodists at the hands of the magistrates at Maidstone where the former had been fined for holding a conventicle. Later (Oct. 1761 p. 529 f.), as these proceedings were set aside by the King's Bench, T. A. had to defend himself against the charge of giving a false account.

In the same month is a vigorous vindication of the Methodists in answer to T. A. by one who signs himself "Hermas" (p. 364 ff.). He takes all the ten questions proposed by the former and gives a succinct reply to each. In conclusion, he says that the existing laws are sufficient to punish all meetings that aim at promoting seditions and insurrections. If any new law were to be enacted (as T. A. proposed against the Methodists) it would only be to prevent the Methodists

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from becoming a prey to inconsiderate and violent High-churchmen. This discussion is carried on at great length[1]) and finally closed by T. A. in a spirit of bitterness in which he accuses "Hermas" of ignorance, thus making it difficult for him to argue with him.

July 1760 p. 375 f. Foote's "Minor" is here reviewed with a long extract of the scene between Mrs. Cole and Sir George. The reviewer contents himself with simply adding: "The other characters are as strongly drawn as this old hypocrite's, and the piece has a great deal of comick humour." In October (p. 501 f.) of the same year, extracts are given from Foote's defence of his "Minor" in answer to the Reverend Author of the "Remarks, Critical and Christian, on the 'Minor'". He defends himself for having ridiculed Whitefield's "inconsiderable weakness in the optic nerve", saying that if men with such infirmities attempt things which those very infirmities have rendered them incapable of properly executing, it is their own fault if they are made the butt of ridicule. He refers in deprecating terms to Whitefield's home-training and quotes a letter purporting to proceed from Whitefield, but which is so indecent, that the very reading of it convinces at once that it is a daring forgery.

October 1760 p. 527 f. Whitefield is again attacked by C. T. in what purports to be a conversation between himself and a friend on the one part and Whitefield on the other. The principal accusation is that the latter reddened excessively when questioned as to the way in which the moneys collected at the Tabernacle had been employed.

In the "Monthly Catalogue"[2]) the "Letter from the Rev. George Whitefield B. A. to the Rev. Laurence Sterne M. A.", mentioned above p. 96, is also branded as a forgery. The reviewer is quite indignant and asks if "here is not something vile, and abominably wicked, in prostituting scripture appellations and expressions and the adorable names of

[1]) Sept. p. 469 ff., Oct. p. 515 ff., Nov. p. 588 f., Dec. p. 641 f., Jan. 1761 p. 33 f., Feb. p. 88 f.

[2]) Oct. 1760 p. 560.

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the Divine Being, and our Ever-blessed Saviour, to the purposes of buffoonry and abuse?"

November 1760 p. 586 f. Twenty questions are proposed to Wesley by "Stephan Church" *alias* R. W. and are answered by the former "speedily, clearly and categorically".[1] R. W. is not at all satisfied, but calls Wesley's answers "a frivolous and fallacious performance".[2] Wesley's answer is short, to the point and tinged with sarcasm.[3] R. W. again replies[4] that Wesley ought to be ashamed of such a performance and says that to deny is not to disprove.

In 1761 Wesley's doctrine of Assurance is attacked or called in question by two letters[5] from different writers, but no discussion follows.

The last reference we have found in the volumes of this magazine that were at our disposal is in the advertisement prefixed to the Bishop of Gloucester's new "Treatise on the Doctrine of Grace" and quoted in the November number of the year 1762 (p. 608 f.), where Wesley is held up as "a fanatic and a coward", the latter epithet being applied on account of the circumstances of his leaving Georgia.

Besides the special request, already mentioned,[6] to the effect that as the editors did not adopt the sentiments of their correspondents in every thing, any answer, modest and to the purpose, if not too long, would be inserted, a request which showed their desire to be impartial, they have otherwise kept silent on our subject, contenting themselves with printing the various articles and letters sent without any further comment. Indeed this seems to have been the course adopted by this magazine in the case of all subjects introduced for discussion.

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[1]) Dec. 1760 p. 651 ff.
[2]) Jan. 1761 p. 36.
[3]) Feb. 1761 p. 91 f.
[4]) April 1761 p. 190.
[5]) Jan. p. 19 f., Feb. p. 94.
[6]) Cf. above p. 113.

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"The Lady's Magazine or Entertaining Companion for the Fair Sex, Appropriated solely for their Use and Amusement."

This Magazine was begun in the year 1770 and continued until 1794. The plan seems to have been an imitation of the 'Gentleman's Magazine' without the political and religious polemics. The 'Historical Chronicle', however, is very copious, especially at the time of the American War of Independence. The references to the Methodists are few and far between. With the exception of the announcement, in the list of books for June 1771,[1]) of a pamphlet called "The Causes of Methodism set forth", the first mention of this sect is to be found in November 1782 in a note to an extract from Dr. Burn's Sermon on Psalmody, where he says that "every man will take a delight in that service in which he himself is a performer". The note is to the effect that "on this principle we may subscribe to the Moravian and Methodist teachers, who always allow their people so large a share in the performance of the duties, and whose singing is so much superior to that in other less enthusiastic assemblies" (p. 588).

In some Miscellaneous Observations for January 1784 (p. 34) is an article on "Enthusiasm" by Dr. Langhorne. After describing the dangers accruing from religious zeal, he says, referring undoubtedly to the Methodists in particular: — "There is, indeed, a difference between retiring to a cave in some unfrequented desert, and entering into a religious society; but the difference lies only in the mode, for they are equally repugnant to the determinations of Providence, which has made the whole moral duty of man to consist in the social capacity of serving his fellow creatures."

Besides the announcements of the deaths of the Wesley brothers,[2]) this magazine only contains one more notice of the Methodists, in a letter to the editor in the month of August 1790.[3]) This letter communicates a prayer,

[1]) Vol. I. p. 252.
[2]) Vol. XIX. April 1788, p. 216; vol. XXII. March 1791, p. 168.
[3]) Vol. XXI. p. 399.

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said to have been made at a Methodist Meeting, and is accompanied by the comment that "for a preacher to borrow expressions from the meanest things and apply them to the most sacred subjects is, in my opinion, making ridicule of religion". The soundness of this view no one will pretend to deny, and the specimen given certainly contains similes which border on profanity, if they are not profanity itself, and should they really have been uttered, could only come from the mouth of an ignorant man or a knave. It will be quite sufficient to quote two of these similes in order to give an idea of the whole prayer. The Almighty is implored to deal grace round in the assembly "as one would deal a pack of cards", and to stir up his holy spirit within the people "as one would stir a pudding".

This Magazine, as we thus see, thought fit in the course of twenty years to insert only two or three notices of the Methodists, and those in order to make these people look ridiculous or at least to serve as a warning against them. This was what the editors understood by fulfilling the promise as expressed in the title page to be an "Entertaining Companion"!

Dr. Samuel Johnson. 1709—1784.

As Dr. Johnson has not left us any account of his opinions about the Methodists either in his satires or his prose works, we have only one source left from which to draw our information. This source is Boswell's "Life of Johnson," [1]) but it supplies us with material enough for our purpose. Mr. Boswell made the Doctor's acquaintance in the year 1763, and it is in this year that we find the first mention of Methodism in these reminiscences.

"Speaking of the *inward* light to which some methodists pretended, he [Johnson] said, it was a principle utterly incompatible with social or civil society. 'If a man', said he,

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[1]) Cf. Life of Samuel Johnson etc. By James Boswell. Ed. by J. W. Croker. London 1831, 5 vols.

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'pretends to a principle of action of which I can know nothing, nay, not so much as that he has it, but only that he pretends to it; how can I tell what that person may be prompted to do? When a person professes to be governed by a written ascertained law, I can then know where to find him' ".[1])

Talking of the great success attending the preaching of the Methodists, Johnson said to Boswell (1763): — "Sir, it is owing to their expressing themselves in a plain and familiar manner, which is the only way to do good to the common people, and which clergymen of genius and learning ought to do from a principle of duty, when it is suited to their congregations; a practice, for which they will be praised by men of sense." [2]) This view may well be compared with that of Goldsmith on the same subject in his essay on Preaching. [3])

Boswell takes this opportunity of pointing out the origin of the appellation 'methodist', and says that Dr. Johnson was himself a methodist "in a dignified manner". In support of this assertion he refers to the "Rambler" (No. 110) where the Doctor mentions with respect "the whole discipline of regulated piety". Further he refers to Johnson's "Prayers and Meditations", where many instances occur of his anxious examination into his spiritual state. Finally he quotes Joseph Milner, [4]) "one of the best apologists of the Methodists", and tenders his own opinion that "the principal reason in argument and good sense against Methodism is, that it tends to debase human nature, and prevent the generous exertions of goodness by an unworthy supposition that God will pay no regard to them". By his quotation from Milner he desires "to do justice to those whom it is the fashion to ridicule, without any knowledge of their tenets".

Curious and very unlike Dr. Johnson's dignity and sense of propriety is the incident narrated by Dr. Maxwell and quoted by Mr. Boswell. [5]) "Though the most accessible and

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[1]) Cf. vol. I.p. 385.
[2]) Cf. vol. I. p. 470.
[3]) Cf. below p. 135 f.
[4]) "Essays on Several Religious Subjects."
[5]) Cf. vol. I. p. 377, under the year 1763.

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communicative man alive, yet when he [Dr. J.] suspected he was invited to be exhibited, he constantly spurned the invitation. Two young women from Staffordshire visited him when I was present, to consult him on the subject of Methodism, to which they were inclined. 'Come', said he, 'you pretty fools, dine with Maxwell and me at the Mitre, and we will talk over that subject', which they did, and after dinner he took one of them upon his knee, and fondled her for half an hour together."

In the same year (1763) we again hear the preaching of the established clergy blamed.[1]) "He observed that in general [they] did not preach plain enough; and that polished periods and glittering sentences flew over the heads of the common people, without any impression upon their hearts. Something might be necessary, he observed, to excite the affections of the common people, who where sunk in languor and lethargy, and therefore he supposed that the new concomitants of methodism might probably produce so desirable an effect... Whatever might be thought of some methodist teachers, he said, he could scarcely doubt the sincerity of that man, who travelled nine hundred miles in a month and preached twelve times a week; for no adequate reward, merely temporal, could be given for such indefatigable labour."

Of Whitefield's oratory, however, Johnson spoke in very depreciating tones (1769). "His popularity", said he, "is chiefly owing to the peculiarity of his manner. He would be followed by crowds were he to wear a night-cap in the pulpit, or were he to preach from a tree."[2])

Dr. Johnson's opinion on the expulsion of the six students from the University of Oxford,[3]) is expressed in a very drastic manner. "Sir", said he,[4]) "that expulsion was extremely just and proper. What have they to do at an University, who are not willing to be taught, but will presume to teach? Where is religion to be learnt, but at an University? Sir,

[1]) Cf. vol. I. p. 381 f. Boswell is here again quoting Maxwell.
[2]) Cf. vol. II. p. 81.
[3]) Cf. Monthly Review Jan. 1768, and above p. 100.
[4]) Cf. vol. II. p. 180, under the year 1772.

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they were examined, and found to be mighty ignorant fellows." On Boswell remarking that they were good beings, the doctor answered: — "I believe they might be good beings, but they were not fit to be in the University of Oxford. A cow is a very good animal in the field, but we turn her out of a garden." On another occasion, [1]) as the conversation turned on Toleration and Martyrdom, Johnson made the remark that it was not necessary to make any provision "for mad people, as there were places for them in the neighbourhood (meaning Moorfields)".

Talking of Whitefield again, Dr. Johnson said, [2]) that "he was at the same college [3]) with him and knew him before he began to be better than other people (smiling); that he believed he sincerely meant well, but had a mixture of politicks and ostentation, whereas Wesley thought of religion only". In answer to the suggestion that Whitefield had strong natural eloquence, which if cultivated would have done great things, Johnson said: — "I take it he was at the height of what his abilities could do, and was sensible of it. He had the ordinary advantages of education; but he chose to pursue that oratory which is for the mob." Boswell here remarked that he had great effect on the passions, whereupon Johnson said: — "I don't think so. He could not represent a succession of pathetick images. He vociferated, and made an impression. There again was a mind like a hammer."

In the year 1773 Johnson undertook his Tour in the Hebrides. Boswell tells us that one evening when Dr. Erskine, Mr. Robert Walker and the Rev. Dr. Webster were supping with them, the conversation turned on the Moravian missions and on the Methodists. As regards the latter the Doctor "owned they had done good; had spread religious

[1]) Cf. vol. II. p. 236, under the year 1773.

[2]) Cf. vol. II. p. 271, under the year 1773.

[3]) Whitefield did not enter Pembroke College before November 1732, nearly three years after Johnson had ceased to be resident at Oxford, so that strictly speaking they were not fellow-collegians Cf. vol. IV. p. 285 Note.

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impressions among the vulgar part of mankind; but he said, they had great bitterness against other Christians, and that he never could get a methodist to explain in what he excelled others; that it always ended in the indispensable necessity of hearing one of their preachers". [1])

On Monday March 27th 1775, at the special request of the actress Mrs. Abdingdon, Dr. Johnson was present at one of that lady's benefits. At first he tried to excuse himself on account of his deafness, but she insisted so much that "it would have been brutal to have refused her". The play was "The Hypocrite", which as we have already seen, [2]) was altered from Cibber's "Non-Juror", so as to satirise the Methodists. Johnson's own opinion of the play was that "the character of the Hypocrite was not justly applicable to the Methodists, but that it was very applicable to the Nonjurors". [3])

Under the date of Feb. 6th 1776 is a letter from Johnson to John Wesley, in which he tenders his thanks to the latter for sending him a copy of his "Commentary of the Bible", as well as for the addition of his "important suffrage to his argument on the American question". [4])

Talking on one occasion in 1776 with the Doctor of a work then much in vogue, namely of Gibbon's "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire" (vol. I publ. 1776), Boswell remarked that it was not fair of the author to introduce artful infidelity in a book where no one would expect to find it. He also suggested that as Gibbon had changed from the Church of England to the Church of Rome, and from the Church of Rome to infidelity, he did not despair of seeing him a Methodist preacher. Johnson replied with a laugh: — "It is said, that his range has been more extensive, and that he has once been a Mahometan. However, now that he has published his infidelity,

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[1]) Cf. vol. III. p. 87.
[2]) Cf. above p. 31.
[3]) Vol. III. p. 196.
[4]) l. c. p. 309f.

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he will probably persist in it." To this, Bosworth answered, that he could not agree.[1])

One day in the same year Boswell mentioned an acquaintance of his, a sectary, and probably a Methodist, though he does not say so expressly. He speaks of him as having been a very religious man, who not only attended regularly on public worship with those of his communion, but made a particular study of the Scriptures and had even written a commentary, but was known to be very licentious, maintaining that men are saved by faith alone. Johnson's curt reply was: "There's no trusting to that crazy piety".[2])

Two years later (1778), speaking of Wesley's personal character, the Doctor remarked: "His conversation is good, but he is never at leisure. He is always obliged to go at a certain hour. This is very disagreeable to a man who loves to fold his legs, and have out his talk, as I do."[3]) As a comment on this utterance we may call attention to the fact that Wesley made a point of not talking with any body for longer than an hour at a time, and advised others that longer conversations were generally unprofitable.

Again, in the same year, Johnson said that Wesley could talk well on any subject. On Boswell asking what Wesley made of his ghost story, referring to a spirit that was said to have appeared at Newcastle, Johnson answered: "Why, Sir, he believes it; but not on sufficient authority." This particular ghost was asserted to have appeared to a young woman and to have told her to make application to an attorney about the right to an old house, at the same time saying the attorney would do nothing, which proved to be the fact. The doctor laughed at the idea that this should be a proof that a ghost knows our thoughts, as Wesley believed. He said that Charles Wesley did not believe the story and he was sorry that John did not take more pains to inquire into the evidence for it. That Johnson himself was not a

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[1]) l. c. p. 335 f.
[2]) l. c. p. 362 f.
[3]) Vol. IV. p. 85.

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disbeliever in ghosts is shown by the answer he gave with solemn vehemence when a lady exclaimed with an incredulous smile: "What, Sir! about a ghost!" — "Yes, madam; this is a question which, after five thousand years, is yet undecided; a question, whether in theology or philosophy, one of the most important that can come before the human understanding." [1])

Boswell himself, who says that, though he differed from Wesley in some points, yet he admired his various talents and loved his pious zeal, made the reverend gentleman's acquaintance by a letter of introduction given him by Dr. Johnson. He met him in Edinburgh and was "very politely received". Wesley's evidence as to the ghost of Newcastle, however, did not convince him. [2])

The last reference to the Methodists in these Memoirs is in the year 1784 when Johnson was seventy-five, being the year of his death. Speaking of the religious discipline proper for unhappy convicts, the Doctor said to Boswell: "Sir, one of our regular clergy will probably not impress their minds sufficiently; they should be attended by a methodist preacher or a popish priest." [3])

Though Johnson, in Boswell's opinion, might also have been called a Methodist, because he was in the habit of examining very carefully into his religious life, yet he was far from being a Methodist in the general sense of the term. Like Goldsmith and Richardson, he praised their manner of preaching to the people, and wished the clergy would imitate them in making their sermons more interesting and attractive. On the other hand he spoke in depreciating tones of Whitefield's preaching, but entertained a high respect for Wesley. He recognised that they had done good, and yet he speaks of Moorfields as a place for madmen. He sanctions the expulsion of the students from Oxford, and yet admits that a Methodist preacher is more likely to influence convicts

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[1]) l. c. p. 155.
[2]) l. c. p. 266 f.
[3]) Vol. V. p. 237 f.

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for good than one of the regular clergy. In short, Dr. Johnson was too strict a churchman to like the irregularities of the Methodists and yet he was far too clear-sighted to overlook that they were doing good. He evidently believed that the Methodists should be restricted to the lower orders and that they had no place at the universities. Boswell seems to have shared the great man's opinion on this subject, but was inclined to be rather more lenient towards these people in general.

Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford. 1717—1797.

Horace Walpole, the friend of the poets Thomas Gray and Richard West, is principally known in the literary world for his "Catalogue of the Royal and Noble Authors of England" (1758), "Anecdotes of Painting in England", (1762—71), "The Castle of Otranto", a romance, and finally for his "Letters", which began to appear in the year 1818 and were finally published in nine volumes from 1857 to 1859. Out of curiosity, it would seem, and because some fashionable people of his acquaintance had turned Methodists, he took some interest in these people and even went to hear John Wesley preach. The "Letters" contain a good number of references to the Methodists. As early as 1739 in a letter to Richard West from Bologna, he says that he has no notion of giving him an account of what he has seen, for he did not like the idea of his letters being published "like Whitefield's Journal".[1]) Three years later, speaking of Thomas Asheton, afterwards preacher to the Society of Lincoln's Inn, Walpole says that he does not object to his pleasing the generality, "for they ran as much after Whitefield as they could after Tillotson; and I do not doubt but St. Jude converted as many honourable women as St. Paul".[2])

Sept. 3rd 1748, in writing to his correspondent and friend George Montague, he makes a pun on the "*new-light*" and

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[1]) Cf. Walpole's Letters. Ed. by Peter Cunningham. Lond. 1857—59, 9 vols.; vol. I. Letter 20 p. 31.

[2]) l. c. Letter 73 p. 161.

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speaks of it being very nonsensical and extremely in fashion. He further makes the communication that Whitefield's services at Lady Huntingdon's had been attended by Lord Chesterfield, Lord Bath, Lady Townshend, Lady Thanet and others. Finally he asks Montague how much he will lay that Whitefield will not be run after in the following winter more than Garrick.[1])

In a letter dated March 4th 1749 to his cousin, Sir Horace Mann, Walpole mentions the fact that Lady Huntingdon "the Queen of the Methodists", had got her daughter named Lady of the Bed-Chamber to the Princesses, but that it was all off again, because the mother would not allow her daughter to play cards on Sundays. In commenting on this circumstance, Walpole says that it was equally absurd on both sides, to refuse it, or to insist upon it.[2])

Two or three weeks afterwards, in another letter to the same friend, he remarks: — "Methodism in the metropolis is more fashionable than anything but brag; the women play very deep at both; as deep, it is much suspected, as the matrons of Rome did at the mysteries of the Bona Dea."[3]) Again, on the 3rd of May to the same gentleman, he writes that somebody had asked Lady Townshend if it were true that Whitefield had *recanted*. In answer she said: — "No, Sir, he has only *canted*". Walpole further warns Sir Horace Mann that when he returned to England he would have to prepare himself with Methodism, as that sect was increasing as fast as ever any religious nonsense did. "Lady Frances Shirley", he continues, "has chosen this way of bestowing the dregs of her beauty; and Mr. Lyttleton is very near making the same sacrifice of the dregs of all those various characters he has worn. The Methodists love your big sinners, as proper subjects to work upon; and, indeed, they have a plentiful harvest."[4])

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[1]) Vol. II. Letter 275 p. 126.

[2]) l. c. Letter 284 p. 147.

[3]) l. c. Letter 285 p. 149; cf. Tyerman vol. II. p. 32.

[4]) l. c. Letter 286 p. 154 f. See also vol. VII. Letter 1742 pp. 94 f., 104 f.

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A couple of months later (July 24th 1749), Sir Horace Mann received a letter in which Walpole professes to answer his friend's question about the principles of the Methodists. He says that he has tried to learn them and has read one of their books, but he does not think necessary to say which. "The *visible* part", he thus expresses himself, "seems to be nothing but stricter practice than that of our Church, clothed in the old exploded cant of mystical devotion." The Methodists, he asserts, are fond of using metaphors, and this is what catches women of fashion and shopkeepers. [1]) In another letter of the same correspondence Walpole writes that he would not wonder at Mr. Lyttleton or Whitefield the Methodist setting out for Italy in order to make a tender of some of our religions on the occasion of the quarrel between the Pope and the Venetians, on the Patriarchate of Aquileia. [2])

In September 1753 Walpole, writing to Richard Bentley, and talking of religious sects, said that Methodism was quite decayed in Oxford, its cradle. [3])

To George Montague on the 3rd of October 1758 we hear him prophesying that Lady Townshend is again likely to turn Methodist, having been frightened by some ghostly figures. [4]) On May 6th 1760 he describes to the same friend the death of Lord Ferrers, who was hanged for having killed his steward in a fit of passion. Speaking of the efforts of his aunt, Lady Huntingdon, to bring about his conversion, Walpole says: — "The Methodists have nothing to brag of his conversion, though Whitfield prayed for him and preached about him." [5])

On the following day Walpole wrote to Sir Horace Mann on the same subject. In this letter he speaks of Lady Huntingdon as the "Saint Theresa of the Methodists", and says that one cannot wonder at finding "so much violent bigotry

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[1]) l. c. Letter 293 p. 175.
[2]) l. c. Letter 309 p. 215.
[3]) l. c. Letter 369 p. 357.
[4]) Vol. III. Letter 576 p. 177.
[5]) l. c. Letter 662 p. 304.

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in such mad blood".[1]) In August of the same year he tells Sir Horace Mann that he knows of one "who will neither turn Jew nor Protestant, nay, nor Methodist, which is more in fashion". This was the Spanish ambassador, Monsieur Fuentes, who had given his honour to the Virgin Mary that he would not.[2])

In November 1760 Walpole was printing his "Anecdotes of Painting", and assured George Montague that there was not a word of Methodism in it.[3])

In a letter to the Earl of Strafford, dated July 5th 1761, Walpole tells a story of Whitefield very much to his disadvantage, and then says he hopes that it is true. Whitefield, he writes, had been to Lady Huntingdon to beg forty pounds, which, she said, she could not give him. As a last resource, he pointed to her watch and trinkets and told her she did not want such vanities. She would have put him off, but he still persisted, and at last she yielded. Some time afterwards, the Countess visited Whitefield at his house, and to her surprise found among his wife's ornaments her own offering. Walpole asserts that this caused "a terrible schism" and that she told the story herself.[4]) We are glad to say that we have not met with any confirmation of this story.

In his letter of Feb. 2nd 1762 to George Montague, Walpole refers to the Cock Lane Ghost and makes it out that it was supported by the Methodists. Quoting Lord Aylesford as his authority, he further asserts that the Methodists had attempted ghosts three times in Warwickshire, and then concludes his letter with the ironical remark: "There, how good I am!"[5]) Writing to Sir Horace Mann, on March 22nd 1762, Walpole defended himself for having been to see the Cock Lane Ghost, and remarked that he himself would soon probably be keeping Saints' days, "for enthusiasm is growing into fashion,

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[1]) l. c. Letter 663 p. 307.
[2]) l. c. Letter 675 p. 329.
[3]) l. c. Letter 698 p. 365.
[4]) l. c. Letter 728 p. 410.
[5]) l. c. Letter 773 p. 481 f.

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and while they are cancelling holidays at Rome, the Methodists are reviving them here".[1])

In another letter to Montague, dated Nov. 20th 1763, he says that "London was never so entertaining since it had a steeple or a madhouse. Cowards fight duels, secretaries turn Methodists on the Tuesday, and are expelled the playhouse for blasphemy on Friday." Being anxious lest his friend should think he had turned Methodist, he asserts that he has not.[2])

Writing from Paris (Nov. 21st 1765) to George Montague, he puts Methodists in the same category as "jesuits, the hypocrite Rousseau, the scoffer Voltaire" etc., and describes them all as impostors in their various ways. The ploughman, who sows his seed, reads his almanack, and believes the stars are so many farthing candles, created to prevent him falling into the ditch when he goes home after dark, is for Walpole, "a wiser and more rational being", and "certainly honester" than any of the kinds of characters mentioned.[3]) Writing again from Paris on March 10th 1766, Walpole has another hit at the Methodists. He apologises to Lady Hervey, to whom the letter is addressed, because he has been so forgetful to thank Lord Hertford for a recommendation. He exclaims that he cannot account for it, that he is as black as ink, and must turn — methodist to fancy that repentance can wash him. This would-be cure, however, does not satisfy him, for he adds: "No, I will not; for then I may sin again, and trust to the same nostrum" (cf. vol. IV. L. 1047 p. 487 f.).

In the October of the same year, Walpole wrote to John Chute Esq. to whom he gives a lively and satirical account of a methodist service he had attended at the Countess of Huntingdon's chapel at Bath. Wesley himself was the preacher. "I have been at one opera," he writes, "Mr. Wesley's. They have boys and girls, with charming voices, that sing hymns in parts to Scotch ballad tunes; but, indeed, so long,

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[1]) l. c. Letter 785 p. 497.
[2]) Vol. IV. Letter 883 p. 133 f.
[3]) l. c. Letter 1024 p. 441.

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that one would think they were already in eternity, and knew not how much time they had before them." He then gives a very favourable description of the little chapel, and of the preacher himself he says that he is "a clean, elderly man, fresh coloured, his hair smoothly combed, but with a little *soupçon* of curl at the ends". He considered him to be as much an actor as Garrick, but did not like his delivery, "for he spoke so fast and with so little accent that, he was sure, he had often given it before". Parts of it, however, were very eloquent, but "towards the end he exalted his voice, and acted very ugly enthusiasm, decried learning and told stories".[1])

In a letter to the Rev. Wm. Cole, Dec. 19th 1767, Walpole expresses the opinion that the Catholic religion is very consumptive, but that with a little patience, if Whitefield, Wesley etc. live, he does not doubt but that something very like it will take place in England. He prefers, however, to live at the end of a tawdry religion than at the beginning, which is always more stern and hypocritic.[2])

A few months later (April 16th 1768), in a letter to the same friend, he expresses the hope that that gentleman's neighbour, the methodist, [3]) "does not, like his patriarch Whitefield, encourage the people to forge, murder etc., in order to have the benefit of being converted at the gallows". Walpole then tells of a funeral sermon preached by that "arch-rogue" on a man who had been hanged for forgery. The best way to treat these people, he says, is not to persecute them, but to get clergy to fight them and ridicule them.[4])

Walpole's feelings towards the Methodists are perhaps expressed most strongly in his letter to the Earl of Strafford on the 25th of June 1768. He asks: "Is it true that Lady Rockingham is turned Methodist? It will be a great acqui-

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[1]) Vol. V. Letter 1079 p. 16.

[2]) l. c. Letter 1121 p. 76.

[3]) In the Appendix is a note to the effect that this "neighbour" was one Berridge who was at Clare Hall with Walpole. Cf. Appendix, vol. IX. p. 522.

[4]) l. c. Letter 1134 p. 97.

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sition to the sect to have their hymns set by Giardini. Pope Joan Huntingdon will be deposed, if the husband becomes first minister. I doubt too, the saints will like to call at Canterbury and Winchester on their way to heaven. My charity is so small, that I do not think their virtue a jot more obdurate than that of patriots."[1])

When Walpole's nephew dismantled and spoiled the palace and estate at Houghton, which he had inherited from the former's father, Walpole himself was so indignant that in a letter to the Rev. William Mason, dated Sept. 3rd 1773, he writes that he felt like selling his own house at Strawberry Hill and laying the purchase-money at the feet of the first Methodist apostle he met.[2])

On the 24th of the same month, in a letter to the Earl of Strafford, he lets loose his satire on Lady Huntingdon, Whitefield, and Lady Fanny Shirley. Speaking of a print of Lady Huntingdon, he says, "she looks like an old basket-woman trampling on her coronet at the mouth of a cavern". Whereupon he exclaims: — "Poor Whitfield! If he was forced to do the honours of the *spelunca*". Of 'Saint Fanny Shirley', he says, he had been told she had written a letter two days previously which was not intelligible.[3]) In a letter to the Rev. Mr. Cole, July 24th 1776, he expresses his surprise that "those madmen [i. e. enthusiasts and especially Methodists] and knaves do not begin to wear out, as their folly is no longer new".[4])

To his friend, the Rev. Wm. Mason, he tells in his letter of July 6th 1777, how that his plaisterer was turned a raving Methodist and had sent him a frantic letter "without sense or grammar, but desiring leave to open him a new plan of the Gospel". Then Walpole satirically exclaims: — "I am glad he had no *new light* about making stucco!" He also

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[1]) l. c. Letter 1143 p. 112.
[2]) l. c. Letter 1383 p. 499.
[3]) l. c. Letter 1386 p. 504.
[4]) Vol. VI. Letter 1596 p. 361.

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makes the comment that he "fears those gentry the Methodists will grow very troublesome or worse".[1])

A year later, in writing to the Rev. Mr. Cole, Walpole puts Calvin, Wesley and the Pope all on the same level. Power and wealth, he says, are their objects and he abhors them both. In a postscript, however, he adds that he likes Popery, as he likes chivalry and romance, but the church in the abstract is a jargon that means nothing, or a great deal too much.[2])

In a letter to the Earl of Strafford (June 13th 1781), he makes a flippant use of the Calvinistic Methodist doctrine of election as a simile. After having converted a certain Mr. Storer to be an antiquary, he reports his success to his friend, and then continues: "The Methodists say, one must have been very wicked before one can be of the elect — yet is that extreme more distant from *the ton*, which avows knowing and liking nothing but the fashion of the instant, to studying what were the modes of five hundred years ago?"[3])

On the 25th June 1782, Walpole wrote to his friend the Rev. Wm. Mason some thoughts about epic poetry. Among other things he makes the startling assertion that "Dante was extravagant, absurd, disgusting, in short a *Methodist Parson in Bedlam*".[4]) The Methodist Parson might be content to be in such company!

Towards the end of his life Walpole kept up a correspondence with Miss Hannah More (1745—1833), the authoress of "Sacred Dramas" etc. (cf. below p. 138 f.). Writing to her on the 22nd of September 1788, he expresses his delight in the moderateness of her piety and especially because she had declined to see an enthusiast exorcist. He further says how shocking such presumption is, and will not give it the name of enthusiasm, but of delirium. Real enthusiasts, he says, he

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[1]) l. c. Letter 1651 p. 452.
[2]) Vol. VII. Letter 1741 p. 94.
[3]) Vol. VIII. Letter 2040 p. 51.
[4]) l. c. Letter 2162 p. 235.

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pities and considers "that the best cure for them would be to shave their heads and take away some blood".[1])

In a letter to Miss Berry in 1791, Walpole announces to her the death of Lady Huntingdon, "the patriarchess" of the Methodists, and predicts that the sect will probably decline, now that Whitefield and she are gone. If Walpole referred to the Methodists generally, the statistics quoted at the end of this dissertation are sufficient to show how mistaken he was destined to be.

The last mention in Walpole's "Letters" of the Methodist Movement is in a letter to the Hon. H. S. Conway, written at Strawberry Hill, Aug. 31st 1792. We have here a description of a fête given by the Duchess of York to her tenants at Oatlands in honour of the Duke's birthday. A company of strollers coming to Waybridge to act in a barn, she was solicited to go and see them. This she did out of charity and took all her servants with her. On the following day, a Methodist teacher came to preach a charity sermon in the same barn, and she consented to hear him for the same reason. Her domestics, however, wished to be excused on the plea that they did not understand English. "Oh!" said the Duchess, "but you went to the comedy, which you understood less, and you shall go to the sermon." She went and gave handsomely at the collection and for them too. Walpole concludes his narration by saying: "I like this."[2])

We have two more slight references to our subject in some of Walpole's verses. The first is in "The Parish Register of Twickenham", written about 1758. This poem consists of an enumeration of the celebrities of that suburb of London. The writer introduces Lady Fanny Shirley who is mentioned several times in the "Letters" as a convert to Methodism:[3])

"Fanny, ever blooming fair,
Ejaculates the graceful pray'r,

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[1]) Vol. IX. Letter 2447 p. 148.
[2]) l. c. Letter 2586 p. 386.
[3]) See above pp. 126, 131; also Letters, vol. VII. pp. 99 f., 104 f.

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And 'scaped from sense, with nonsense smit,
For Whitfield's cant leaves Stanhope's wit." [1])

The other reference is in the Epilogue to his "Mysterious Mother", to be spoken by Mrs. Clive. Walpole here expresses the opinion that sectaries and saints are the produce of a vicious age, and points the daughters of Britain to the throne where sits a model of virtue. Speaking of the heroine of the play, he says: —

"*So very guilty, and so very good,*
An angel, with such errant flesh and blood!
Such sinning, praying, preaching — I'll be kist,
If I don't think she was a methodist." [2])

From Walpole's standpoint the Methodists were nothing but enthusiasts and fanatics, including both Wesley and Whitefield. Even the former's sermon does not seem to have edified him very much. In his apparent desire to see nothing but cant and hypocrisy, he altogether overlooked the great good the Methodists were doing among the lower classes, both in the metropolis and other large towns.

Though we might have expected Oliver Goldsmith (1728—1774) to have introduced the Methodists into his "Vicar of Wakefield" or "The Deserted Village", yet no such references are to be found. He did not, however, altogether ignore them in his writings. The first mention of them is to be found in the seventh number (Sat. Nov. 17th 1759) of "The Bee", a paper of which he published eight numbers.[3])

The subject of this particular number is "Eloquence". In the course of his remarks the author holds up the methodist preachers as men, who by the best use of their powers

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[1]) Cf. Works. London 1798—1822, 8 vols.; vol. IV. p. 383.
[2]) l. c. vol. IV. p. 397.
[3]) Cf. Goldsmith's Miscellaneous Works, edit. by Irving. Paris 1837, 4 vols; vol. IV. p. 205 f.

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of speech, know how to create a much greater effect on the people than any of the clergy of the established church. Quoting his own words, we have the following expression of his opinion: "How seldom they are endued with common sense, and yet how often and how justly they affect their hearers. I cannot avoid saying within myself, had these been bred gentlemen, and had they been endued with even the meanest share of understanding, what might they not effect! Did our bishops, who can add dignity to their expostulations, testify the same fervour, and *entreat* their hearers, as well as argue, what might not be the consequence!"

Further mention of the Methodists is to be found in Goldsmith's "Essays". He commences his "Description of Various Clubs" [1]) by quoting some philosopher who said that "let a man's character, sentiments or complexion be what they will, he can find company in London to match them". Not only the splenetic, the passionate and the phlegmatic man can easily find congenial friends, but even the man who is actually mad, "may find very good company in Moorfields, either at Bedlam or the Foundry, ready to cultivate a nearer acquaintance". Essay IV [2]) is on the "English Clergy and Popular Preachers". The essayist here again contrasts the methodist preachers favourably with the clergy in spite of the latter having better opportunities of enjoying a liberal education. The clergy are generally "dry, methodical and unaffecting; they address the cushion instead of the audience, who instead of being awakened to remorse, actually fall asleep over their labouring compositions" (p. 277). Few talents, Goldsmith observes further, are necessary in order to become a popular preacher, a just and manly sincerity being that talent which of itself will draw crowds of listeners round enthusiasts. "Folly", he says, "may sometimes set an example for wisdom to practise and our regular divines may borrow instructions even from Methodists who go their circuits and preach prizes among the populace.

[1]) l. c. vol. IV. p 253 ff.
[2]) Ib. p. 275 ff.

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Even Whitefield may be placed as a model for some of our young divines; let them join to their own good sense his earnest manner of delivery."

Finally, in his "Citizen of the World" (publ. 1762), which purports to be a series of letters from a Chinese philosopher residing in London to his friends in the East, Goldsmith makes this subject of the celestial empire describe his impressions of the religion of the people of England. Speaking of the numerous sects, the Chinaman says that anyone can "set up for himself and sell off a new religion".[1] "They have arrived at such refinement in religion-making, that they have actually formed a new sect without a new opinion; they quarrel for opinions they both equally defend; they hate each other and that is all the difference between them." While their principles are the same, their practice is said to be somewhat different, for those of the established church laugh when they are pleased, but those of the new sect weep for their amusement. Dancing round the room is, with them, running in a direct line to the devil. The writer then makes a comparison between these sectaries and the enthusiasts of the East, for example the Faquirs, the Brahmins and the Talapoins. The only antagonist that can be successfully opposed to enthusiasm he asserts to be ridicule. Persecution only tends to propagate new religions. This is illustrated by the story of the two orders of friars who quarrelled about the antiquity and authenticity of their respective legends. On being persuaded to subject them to an ordeal by fire in order to test their miraculous powers, both legends, of course, were burned and the friars made contemptible.

This letter was clearly directed against the Methodists, although they are not mentioned by name. In the table of contents, however, it is described as being, "On the different sects in England, particularly Methodism". It is also worth noticing that these letters first appeared in Newbury's daily

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[1]) l. c. vol. III. p. 431 ff.

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paper, the "Public Ledger" [1]) for 1760, and as ridicule is asserted to be the best remedy for enthusiasm, it seems very possible that this particular letter was suggested by, or must, at all events, be taken in close connection with Foote's "Minor", which was first performed on January 28th 1760.

Thus, while he was inclined to hold up to contempt the extremes to which the Methodists carried their enthusiasm, Oliver Goldsmith was far from not recognising and recommending for imitation what he considered to be their good qualities.

This will be the most convenient place to mention one or two references which are to be found where we might have expected more. We mean in the letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1690—1762) and in the works of Hannah More (1745—1833).

Writing to her daughter, the Countess of Bute, about the education of her grand-daughter, Lady Mary expresses the opinion that while few heads are capable of making Sir Isaac Newton's calculations, a moderate capacity may understand the result of them. She has no fear that this will make any young girl like women, who are ridiculous, not because they have learning, but because they have it not. "One thinks herself a complete historian after reading Echard's Roman History; another a profound philosopher, having got by heart some of Pope's *unintelligible* essays, and a third an able divine on the strength of Whitfield's sermons." [2])

Again, in writing to the same lady five weeks later from the same place, namely, Lovere in Lombardy where she spent more than the last twenty years of her life on account of her health, she discourses on the way in which she had been brought up herself. She compares herself to Clarissa Harlowe, and her governess to the pious Mrs. Norton. "It

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[1]) Morley's Sketch of English Literature, p. 860; Irving's Life of Goldsmith, Works, vol. I. p. XLIV.

[2]) The Letters and Works of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. Second Edition, Revised. London 1837, 3 vols.; vol. III. p. 46.

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was none of her fault", she says, "that I am not at this day afraid of witches and hobgoblins or turned methodist."

These notices are very slight ones, and though in the one case she mentions Whitefield as an able divine, in the other she puts Methodism on a level with old wives' tales, so that it is impossible to form any exact opinion of her views on the subject. We can only say that the Methodists did not stand high in her favour.

From Miss Hannah More's character and the style of her works it might have been expected that she would have had more to say about the Methodists. Had there been many like her in the State Church there would have been no need for Methodism. It is very probable, however, that her character was a product of the movement. Her works breathe the spirit of true religion and are even methodistical, but she seems to avoid any reference to the movement itself.

It is only in "Cælebs in Search of a Wife", which was not published until 1808, that we find any mention of the Methodists. Here we have an enumeration of customs which were always considered by a pretty large class of men as the infallible symptoms of Methodism. Among others are: Going to church in the afternoon, maintaining family prayer, not travelling or giving great dinners or other entertainments on Sundays etc. "These, though the man attend no eccentric clergyman, hold no one enthusiastic doctrine and associate with no fanatic — will infallibly fix on him the charge of methodism."[1])

On another occasion, speaking of the company people keep, she says that when a man is worldly, gay and thoughtless, inquiry is seldom made as to whether he is immoral, or an unbeliever or a profligate. But when a man shows actual piety, you are warned to be on your guard. Such a man may be righteous overmuch. The question is at once asked: "Is he sincere?" to be followed up by: "Is he not a Methodist?"[2])

[1]) Cf. Cælebs etc. The 14th Edition. London 1813; vol. II. p. 263 f.

[2]) l. c. vol. II. pp. 343 f.

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Even Horace Walpole was an admirer of Hannah More's piety, though he showed no sympathy for the Methodists.

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b) Methodism in the Novels.

"The History of Sir Charles Grandison", the third of Samuel Richardson's (1689—1761) celebrated epistolary novels is the only one in which he takes occasion to make any mention of the Methodists. We should rather have expected to find these people introduced into his first novel, "Pamela", especially as the subject of it was low-born, and the book itself was written avowedly for country readers. Besides this, at the time of composition (Nov. 10th 1739 to Jan. 10th 1740)[1]), the Methodists had already begun to feel the attacks of their adversaries.[2]) But neither here nor in "Clarissa Harlowe" have we any references at all to this sect.

It is then to "Sir Charles Grandison" that we are confined for Richardson's views about these people, and even here the passages at our disposal are but very few.

Sir Charles's younger sister Charlotte (Lady G.) has occasion to speak of the Methodists in three of her letters to Miss Byron.

In the first she informs her friend that a certain doctor is one of the most pious men in England, but that her aunt, who is in love with him, "will tire him with praying, and expounding, as she calls it. Do you know that the good creature was a Methodist in Yorkshire? These *overdoers*, my dear, are wicked wretches. What do they, but make religion look unlovely, and put *underdoers* out of heart?"[3]) As a contrast to religionists of this class, she then holds up her brother, Sir Charles, who does not profess the half of what he practises.

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[1]) Cf. Morley's Sketch of Engl. Lit., p. 826.

[2]) Cf. Tyerman, vol. I. pp. 209 and 236 ff.

[3]) Cf. The History of Sir Charles Grandison. The Third Edition. London 1754, 7 vols.; vol. V. Letter IX. p. 45.

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Some months later, she writes: "By the way, do you know that Mrs. O-Hara is turned *Methodist?* True as you are alive. And she labours hard to convert her husband. Thank God she is anything that is serious! These people have really great merit with me, in *her* conversion. — I am sorry that our own Clergy are not as zealously in earnest as they. They have really, my dear, if we may believe Aunt Eleanour, given a face of religion to subterranean colliers, tinners, and the most profligate of men, who hardly ever before heard either of the word, or thing. But *I* am not turning *Methodist,* Harriet. No, you will not suspect me." [1]) Referring to the same conversion, she reports later on that her aunt has succeeded in converting her husband. In commenting upon it, she calls it "a strange alteration", but says that "it is natural for such sort of people to pass from one extreme to another". [2])

In a letter [3]) written by Miss Byron to Lady G., she describes a conversation between her uncle Mr. Selby and Sir Charles Grandison to whom she was then engaged to be married. Sir Charles is accused of being too broad in his religious views. In his defence he says that religious zeal is generally a fiery thing and that he would as soon quarrel with a man's face as with his religion. Mr. Selby gets quite excited and exclaims: — "The *Methodists,* Sir Charles; what think you of the *Methodists!* Say you love 'em, and, and, and, addsdines, you shall not be my Nephew." Sir Charles takes this as a menace, but Mr. Selby tries to laugh it off. However, in order to cut off the conversation, Sir Charles takes Miss Byron out of the room.

The converted couple mentioned above are again referred to in a letter from Miss Jervois to Sir Charles. Miss Jervois is Mrs. O-Hara's daughter by her first husband. She says that her mother and her husband now live happily and elegantly, and that thanks to Sir Charles, they want for nothing.

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[1]) Vol. VI. Letter IX. p. 32.
[2]) Ib. Letter XXVII. p. 169.
[3]) Ib. Letter XXXI. p. 207.

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They are also grown quite religious and have leisure to think of their souls' good. She further speaks of them going all the way from Soho to Moorfields to hear the preacher they admire so much, and of the contributions they give for his support, seeing that he has no establishment.

If we may judge of Richardson's opinions about the Methodists from these few passages, we must allow that he did not assume a very unfavourable attitude towards them. While he does not approve of their *overdoing* religion, yet he recognises that they had done a great deal of good among certain classes of people, such as colliers and low profligate men in general. Like Goldsmith [1]), too, he laments that the clergy are so indifferent to their high calling and wishes they were as zealous as the Methodists.

Henry Fielding's [2]) (1707—1754) references to the Methodists in one of his farces have already been quoted.[3]) But it is in his prose works, and more especially in his celebrated novels, that these people are made the subjects of his satire.

In the year 1742 he published "The Adventures of Joseph Andrews", which was intended as a tonic to Richardson's "Pamela", and by which that author felt himself greatly offended. In Chapter XVII. a discourse between the two parsons, Mr. Adams and Mr. Barnabas, and a bookseller takes place on the subject of publishing some sermons by Mr. Adams. The bookseller professes reluctance at being necessitated to refuse the publication of them, and says: "The trade is so stocked with them, that really, unless they come out with the name of Whitefield or Wesley, or some other great man, as a bishop or that sort of people, I don't care to touch" (p. 295 f.). He then makes a comparison between sermons and plays, which Adams does not relish, especially when he says that he would as soon print one of

[1]) See above p. 135 f.
[2]) Cf. Works. Ed. by Roscoe, London 1840.
[3]) Cf. above p. 33 f.

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Whitefield's sermons, as any farce whatever. Barnabas is aroused at this, and turning to Adams, complains that "this fellow's [i. e. Whitefield's] writings are levelled at the clergy". This he follows up with a tirade against his works and concludes by saying: — "Sir, the principles of Toland, Woolston, and all the freethinkers, are not calculated to do half the mischief, as those professed by this fellow and his followers."

Adams replies that if Mr. Whitefield had not carried his doctrines any farther than Barnabas had mentioned, he would have remained his well-wisher. He was himself just as great an enemy to the usury and splendour of the clergy as Mr. Whitefield. "But when he began to call nonsense and enthusiasm to his aid, and set up the detestable doctrine of faith against good works, I was his friend no longer; for surely that doctrine was coined in hell."

After a further condemnation of this doctrine as being unworthy of the Creator, he assures the bookseller that in his own sermons, he thanks God, the contrary is inculcated on almost every page. The bookseller, however, cannot be persuaded to undertake the publishing of them. Parson Adams is quite a model of an orthodox clergyman, who is conscientious in fulfilling his duties to his parishioners and fellowmen. That he was not afraid to rebuke sin and atheism, is shown in his conversation with the landlord about religion, on which subject the latter was catechised very severely.

In "Tom Jones, The History of a Foundling" (1749), there are no particular allusions to the Methodists. We only read that the landlady of the house in which Jones and Lady Bellaston were wont to meet, became a methodist, as did also Tom's foster-brother Blifil. In the former case the woman rebukes Lady Bellaston for her past life and positively declares she will on no account be instrumental in carrying on any of her affairs for the future. In this she keeps her word. Blifil, on the other hand, is said to have turned methodist "in hopes of marrying a very rich widow of that sect." (p. 275.)

Fielding's next and last novel, in which the Methodists are referred to, is his "Amelia", published in 1751. After

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discoursing on certain anomalies in the conduct of English justice, the author takes the reader into a prison which he describes with all its horrors. A certain Mr. Booth, who had been committed innocently for having attacked the watchman, makes the round of the prison in company with a Mr. Robinson, a philosopher, or rather a freethinker. Mr. Booth also holds some of the same opinions, but is shocked at his companion's gambling propensities. At this juncture he is addressed by a grave-looking man who expresses his sorrow at seeing him associated with Mr. Robinson. The latter he accuses of being a rascal and of disowning all revealed religion. He continues talking a great deal of cant and finally ends in declaring himself a methodist. He then leaves Booth, but not before having, "as the phrase of the sect is, searched him to the bottom" (p. 378). In fact he had emptied Mr. Booth's pockets of the few things he possessed. On missing his iron snuff-box the latter accuses the gambler of having stolen it, but is soon convinced of his innocence. At his suggestion he offers a crown to anyone in the prison who would restore it to him. This was successful, for the methodist produced the box which, he said, he had found, and should have returned it before, had he known the person to whom it belonged; adding, with uplifted eyes, that the spirit would not suffer him knowingly to detain the goods of another, however inconsiderable the value was. "'Why so, friend?' said Robinson, 'Have I not heard you often say, the wickeder any man was the better, provided he was what you call a believer?' — 'You mistake me', cries Cooper (for that was the name of the methodist): 'no man can be wicked after he is possessed by the spirit. There is a wide difference between the days of sin and the days of grace. I have been a sinner myself.' — 'I believe thee', cries Robinson, with a sneer. 'I care not,' answered the other, 'what an atheist believes. I suppose you would insinuate that I stole the snuff-box; but I value not your malice; the Lord knows my innocence'" (p. 379 f.). He then walked off with the reward. Booth turned to Robinson and asked his pardon for having suspected him of the theft. This the latter

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very readily grants and tries to prove that he is not a gambler. Experience, however, makes Booth mistrust his new friend, especially when his request for the loan of two shillings is refused.

Several hits at the Methodists are also to be found in Henry Fielding's Periodicals. On the 5th November 1745 he began "The True Patriot", the object of which was to oppose Jacobitism. In December 1747, this paper changed its form, but not its aim, when it appeared as "The Jacobite Journal, by John Trott-Plaid Esq." In No. 13 of the first mentioned paper (p. 675), dated January 28th 1746, a story is told, ostensibly as an example of judging things differently according to the point of view, but really with the intention of rendering the Methodist preachers ridiculous. The writer professes to have been present at "a certain religious assembly of the people called Methodists" where the preacher took for his text: "It is reported that fornication is among you". The whole congregation, as well as himself, he believed, expected a wholesome discourse on all criminal conversation between the sexes. To their great surprise the preacher limited his remarks to the former part of the text and only discanted on the nature and various kinds of reports.

A further reference is to be found in "The Jacobite Journal" No. 15, dated March 12th 1748 (p. 678 f.). The writer of the Journal is addressed by some correspondent on the question of where the proper persons are to be found of whom proselytes to Jacobitism can be made. Just as a good huntsman does not go shooting for hare or foxes about the Royal Exchange, so says the writer "you have no occasion to go with parson Whitefield to Georgia after a young jacobite; but you may go with parson Whitefield to Kennington-common, or Bagshot-heath, or Hounslow, in quest of one; for want has made many a man a jacobite, revenge more, and ignorance thousands".

Fielding's methodist characters whether in his farce, in his journals, or in his novels, are not such as to reflect the best side of their lives. The preachers in general are rendered ridiculous, while even Whitefield himself is made out to

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be an instigator of Jacobitism, and his writings are said to be levelled at the clergy. The only praise accorded to Wesley and Whitefield, if such limited recognition can be called by that name, is put into the mouth of the bookseller who discusses the subject of publishing sermons with Parson Adams. The latter, too, professes to agree with Whitefield in many points, but says that he could no longer remain his well-wisher when he set up his detestable doctrine of faith against good works. The converted landlady in "Tom Jones" at least shows her sincerity by giving up her former occupation of being privy to the love affairs of Lady Bellaston. But Blifil's reason for turning Methodist is again most contemptible, while Cooper, the methodist in the prison described in "Amelia", is the character that deserves to be despised most of all, on account of his low cant and hypocrisy.

In all these people, however, there is no trait that can be described as peculiarly methodistical. Though one of the doctrines preached by John Wesley was that of Perfection which all Methodists were expected to strive to attain, yet it was but a small proportion of them, who even professed to have reached that goal. There is no denying that such characters as represented by Fielding were to be found among professing Methodists, but could he not just as easily have picked up similar ones in the State Church or in other sects?

The Methodists were not made the subjects of Laurence Sterne's (1713—1768) wit and indecency either in his "Tristram Shandy" or in his "Sentimental Journey". One of his sermons [1]), however, is on Enthusiasm, and here he seizes the opportunity to disparage the Methodists in strong terms. Though he does not mention them by name, it is quite evident that they are intended by "these modern enthusiasts". He is very severe on what he calls "the distinguishing character of a Christian" as defined by

[1]) Works of Sterne. London 1843; p. 699 f.

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the Methodists, namely "a violent persuasion of mind that they are instantaneously become the children of God; that the whole score of their sins is for ever blotted out, without the fragment of one tear of repentance. Pleasing doctrine this to the fears and passions of mankind! — promising fair to gain proselytes of the vicious and impenitent." The learned prebend seems to have known but little of the real doctrines of Wesley to suppose that he did not require people to repent of their sins before they could be saved. He does profess to have read some of their "journals", (very probably he means those published by Wesley and Whitefield), but he only finds "much blasphemous language in them", and expects that they will soon be filled with as many legendary accounts of visions and revelations, as were in earlier ages given by the Church of Rome. Had Sterne himself been methodistical in the best sense of the term, he would probably not have tried to gain friends among the grand people by having recourse to flattery, nor would he have shown such a shameful neglect of his duties as husband and father.

Though Tobias Smollett (1721—1771) passes over the Methodist movement in silence in the earlier editions of his "History of England", he has a notice of it under the head of Fanaticism in the edition of 1766. In this edition he brings his history down to the death of George II. In the passage referred to, the historian says that "fanaticism and imposture still hang upon the skirts of religion. Weak minds were seduced by the delusions of a superstition styled Methodism, raised upon the affectation of superior sanctity and pretensions to divine illumination. Many thousands were infected with enthusiasm by the endeavours of a few obscure Preachers, such as Wh— and the two W—'s, who found means to lay the whole kingdom under contribution."[1])

It is interesting to read Wesley's own trenchant comment

[1]) Vol. II. p. 157.

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on this passage which he quotes in his "Journals" [1]) under April 22nd 1779. "Poor Smollet!" he exclaims, "thus to transmit to all succeeding generations a whole heap of notorious falsehoods!" Wesley goes on to assert that neither imposture nor fanaticism had any share in the Methodist revival of religion. The religion he preaches is "the love of God and man, gratitude to our Creator, and good-will to our fellow-creatures". The Doctor, he says, does not know anything about the matter, otherwise he could not have called it enthusiasm. That "obscure Preachers made pretensions to divine illumination", he further asserts to be a silly calumny that has so often been refuted to the satisfaction of all candid men. Referring to Smollett's assertion that the preachers of Methodism found means to lay the whole kingdom under contribution, Wesley concludes by saying: — "So does this frontless man, blind and bold, stumble on without the least shadow of truth."

In his other works, however, Smollett is not so severe on the Methodists. In his novel, which is perhaps the best known, and by many considered as the most entertaining and agreeable of all his works, he makes the Methodists occupy a very prominent place. This is "The Expedition of Humphrey Clinker" (1770—1771), which we shall therefore consider first, though, as we shall see, the Methodists were also referred to in some of his earlier works besides his "History".

The subject of the novel is at first a postillion and afterwards a lacquey in the service of a certain Mr. Bramble who travels about the country with his family. Humphrey proves himself to be very useful and shows his attachment to the family in many ways. One day, however, Mr. Bramble goes with his nephew [2]), Jerry Melford, in order to see a carriage belonging to a coachman in the neighbourhood, from whom they hope to buy it. All at once they notice down a

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[1]) Vol. IV. p. 148.

[2]) Cf. The Miscellaneous Works of Tobias Smollett. Edited by Thomas Roscoe. London 1841; p. 838.

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narrow lane, behind Long Acre, a crowd of people standing at a door, which, it seems, opened into a kind of Methodist meeting. They were informed that a footman was, at the time, holding forth to the congregation within. Curious to see this "phenomenon", as Melford calls it in his letter to his friend, they squeezed their way into the building. Here, to their great surprise, they found Clinker addressing the congregation, and the females of the family among the audience. Mr. Bramble at once commanded his lacquey to come down and order a hackney-coach. On arriving at their lodgings he gave Clinker a piece of his mind on the subject, and told him that he was either a knave or a madman and that it would be better if he left his service. Humphrey prefers to give up his preaching and stay in his place, much to the disgust of Aunt Tabitha (Mr. B.'s sister) who interpreted it into poorness of spirit and worldly-mindedness.

After a short time Humphrey is arrested on the charge of having robbed a coach. His evidence is given in such a hesitating way that most of those who are present think he must be guilty. Mr. Bramble and his nephew, however, consider him innocent, and the former cries out to him: "'In the name of God, if you are innocent, say so.' — 'No', cried he, 'God forbid that I should call myself innocent, while my conscience is burdened with sin.' — 'What then, you did commit the robbery?' resumed his master. 'No, sure', said he, 'blessed be the Lord, I'm free from that guilt'" (p. 841). It was proposed to discharge him as a lunatic, but he is finally convicted and sent to Clerkenwell in spite of his innocence. Here he is visited by the family to whom the turnkey says of Clinker: "I don't care if the devil had him; here has been nothing but canting and praying since the fellow entered the place — Rabbit him! the tap will be ruined — — we han't sold a cask of beer, nor a dozen of wine, since he paid his garnish — the gentlemen get drunk with nothing but your d—med religion. For my part I believe as how your man deals with the devil. Two or three as bold hearts as ever took the air upon Hounslow, have been blubbering all night; and if the fellow an't speedily removed by habeas

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corpus, or otherwise, I'll be d—med if there's a grain of true spirit left within these walls — we shan't have a soul to do credit to the place, or to make his exit like a true born Englishman, — d—n my eyes! there will be nothing but snivelling in the cart — we shall all die like so many psalm-singing weavers." (p. 842 f.)

We have quoted this passage at length because it gives us an insight into the condition of the prisons a century and a half ago, and shows how necessary it was for some one to begin a reform. It is well known that the early methodists did good work in this direction, instituting a regular visitation, by which means they were enabled to rescue many from the terrible state into which their conduct had plunged them. At last Humphrey is released on bail when Mr. Bramble says of him: — "He has commended himself to the whole of our family by his talents of preaching, praying and singing psalms, which he exercises with such effect. If there were anything like affectation or hypocrisy in this excess of religion, I would not keep him in my service; but so far as I can observe, the fellow's character is downright simplicity, warmed with a kind of enthusiasm, which renders him very susceptible of gratitude and attachment to his benefactors." (p. 843 f.)

Mrs. Winifred Jenkins, the woman in attendance on Mr. Bramble's sister, writes a very amusing letter to Mrs. Mary Jones who had been left in care of the Hall. Like Mrs. Malaprop in Sheridan's "Rivals", she distinguishes herself by her misuse of words, but especially by her comical orthography. Among other things she sends her friend (p. 844): "a sarment upon the nothingness of good works, which was preached in the tabernacle". . . . . "Mr. Clinker has been in trouble", she writes further on, "but the gates of hell have not been able to prevail again him. His virtue is like pour gould, seven times tried in the fire. He was tuck up for a robbery, and had before Gustass Busshard, who made his mittamouse, and the pore youth was sent to prison upon the false oof of a willian, that wanted to sware his life away for the looker of cain. The squire did all in his power, but

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could not prevent his being put in chains, and confined among common manufactors, where he stud like an innocent sheep in the midst of wolves and tygers ... Ould Scratch has not a greater enemy on hearth than Mr. Clinker".

Writing from Tweedmouth on July 15th, Mr. Bramble says: — "My sister Tabby still adheres to Methodism, and had the benefit of a sermon at Wesley's meeting in Newcastle, but I believe the passion of love has in some measure abated the fervour of devotion, both in her, and in her woman, Mrs. Jenkins" (p. 863).

In a letter to a friend of hers, Miss Lydia Melford, niece to Mr. Bramble, speaks of Mrs. Jenkins and Methodism in the following terms: — "As for Mrs. Jenkins, she herself is really an object of compassion; between vanity, Methodism, and love, her head is almost turned" ..... Of her aunt she writes, "I am afraid she has used even religion as a decoy, though it has not answered her expectations. She has been praying, preaching and catechising among the Methodists, with whom this country [1]) abounds" (p. 881 f.). Miss Melford's private opinion is that Mrs. Jenkins's supernatural visitations and pretensions to prophecy are downright hypocrisy and deceit, and believes that she herself would be abandoned of grace if she thought these things necessary to faith.

In his "Adventures of an Atom" (1763), the author gives a description of the civilisation of the Japanese, being in reality a satire on the state of society in England. The Atom, in speaking about music to Nathaniel Peacock, and in intimating that the latter can have no opinion on the subject, says: — "For distinction of ear, thou mightest be justly ranked among the braying tribe that graze along the ditches of Tottenham-court or Hockley-i-the-hole" (p. 951).

Smollett was undoubtedly thinking of the Methodists when he gave utterance to his opinion about fanatics in the Fifth Letter of his "Travels through France and Italy", published in 1766. His words are: "For my part I never

[1]) The letter is dated from Glasgow.

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knew a fanatic that was not a hypocrite at bottom ..... The wildest fanatics I ever knew were real sensualists in their way of living, and cunning cheats in their dealings with mankind" (p. 699).

From the above quotations we see that this great novel-writer of his time only showed himself to be an opponent of exaggerated enthusiasm and fanaticism. It is true that he could hardly have expressed himself in stronger terms than he has done in his "History", but "Humphrey Clinker" was written at a later period of his life, in fact in the year of his decease. In the hero of this novel the author presents to his readers a methodist who was highly esteemed by his master and all the family, and who was not so far gone in enthusiasm as not to listen to reason. Such a character as was given him by Mr. Bramble, as well as the reluctant testimony concerning the change wrought among the prisoners by his teaching and example, combine to make us respect the man. By the delineation of these traits in a Methodist, Smollett probably wished to show that being a member of that sect does not necessarily mean a giving up of everything that goes to form a manly man, as many of the satirists and other opponents of the movement would make us believe. It is true that the characters of Aunt Tabitha and Mrs. Jenkins are calculated to lower Methodism in the eyes of respectable people, but this is only the foil that sets off to greater advantage the good qualities of the hero of the story.

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Conclusion.

In the preceding dissertation we have endeavoured to collect and collate all the references about Methodism that are to be found in the literary writers who were contemporary with John Wesley. In doing this we have thought it proper to exclude authors who only treat theological, philosophical, and controversial subjects, except so far as these are quoted to illustrate the tendency of any of the periodicals. Such subjects we consider to be foreign to literature in the narrower sense of the word. Nor do we pretend to have included all and every poem or skit that appeared for or against the Methodists, for as we have already pointed out (p. 63 f.), many of these were written anonymously or by men who have no claim to be ranked among the makers of our literature. In order to give a slight idea of the number of works that have been called into existence by the introduction of Methodism, we may here quote Stevens, who states that in a "Catalogue of Works that have been published in Refutation of Methodism from its origin in 1729 to 1846, compiled by H. C. Decanver, printed in Philadelphia by John Pennington in 1846", there are the titles of 384 publications. Nor is this list complete. If the number of works in favour of Methodism should be added, Stevens estimates the total number at 1500 (i. e. in the year 1858).[1])

[1]) Stevens' Methodism, vol. I. Preface.

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As to periodicals and magazines, we have examined only a very small proportion of the great number that cropped up one after another in an incredibly few years for those times of slow travelling and transport. What we have examined, however, has been done thoroughly, and the periodicals under consideration ranked high in the literary world and enjoyed a great circulation. Other periodicals as "The Rambler" (1750—1752), "The Adventurer" (1752—1754), and "The Idler" (1758—1760) have yielded no results.

If then, with these limitations, we ask ourselves what is the upshot of these researches, it will be very easy to formulate a general answer. The first thought that strikes one is, that by far the greater number of those who have introduced the movement into their works assumed a hostile attitude. To enter more into particulars, this hostility was very natural in the drama, as the players had rather to fear, if Methodism continued spreading, as they saw it was doing, that they would sustain great losses from the fact that the Methodists were the very contrary of being a pleasure-seeking people, and were especially exhorted by their leaders not to visit the playhouses. In spite of the astonishing rapidity with which Methodism has spread all over the world, this fear has not been realised. This, however, was no excuse for a man like Foote to take the liberty of putting on the boards such a representation of Methodism that everybody, who made any pretensions at all to be friendly disposed to religion, must have felt the profanity of it. No wonder this parody was attacked from all sides, and though it gained a run of success after it had been altered, it was only the success of the moment. From any other playwriter it would perhaps hardly have been tolerated at all, but the people were accustomed to Foote's style, and he pandered to a low taste. Anybody and everybody were made to feel the stings of his mimicry. The very fact of his taking off a bodily defect of Whitefield was in itself a most gross insult. If such characters as he introduced into his plays had been met by him in real life, they were too indecent for reproduction, nor do we see how he hoped to put an end to such a supposed

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state of things by amusing the people with them, and by thus making them more familiar. We should not like to imagine that there is any foundation at all for Foote's treatment of the subject, but if so, it is evident, he was thinking more of the followers of Whitefield than of Wesley. As Whitefield did not organise his people into bands and classes, he had not the same control over them as Wesley had. The latter, we know, was very severe and impartial in sifting his societies of bad influences. Indifference to the means of grace was considered a sufficient reason for a member to be regarded as a backslider, and excluded from the bands. Bad or immoral conduct on the part of a member brought in its suite the inexorable fiat of exclusion from the society until the offender showed himself penitent.

While the isolated dramatists, who introduced Methodists into their plays, only tried to hold them up to scorn and ridicule, the other poets of the age were divided in their opinions. The majority, it is true, simply aimed at subjecting the Methodists one and all to the most scathing satire and the most offensive abuse they could invent; others were more moderate in their opposition, while but a select couple accepted the methodist doctrines with certain reservations and recognised the good they were doing wherever they formed their societies. In the first category we must class Churchill, Robert Lloyd, Evan Lloyd, Lovibond, the authors of the "Mimic", "Methodism Triumphant" etc. and Anstey; in the second, Pope, Cooper, Chatterton and Crabbe, while the third class can boast of only two representatives, Byrom and Cowper, of whom one, at least, is recognised as ranking very high among our poets of the last century. Men who are naturally disposed to turn everything they see and hear into ridicule, men whose taste is not guided by reason, nor their impulses by decency, will not let any thing stop them from mocking at religion. Such men are not those to whom we should turn for moral instruction, nor men whose works will become immortal. The lives of Churchill and Lloyd are sufficient proofs that they themselves were not better than their representations of the Methodists, and would probably

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have lived longer and made better use of their poetical powers, had they adopted the methodist rules of living. Poetry ought never to be prostituted to profanity or obscenity, and so, though these men may have known individual persons, who served them as types for their characters, their treatment of them cannot be excused, nor can either the Methodists or their doctrines be charged with the hypocrisies and immoralities ascribed to them by these poets.

Opposition carried on in moderate language is more likely to convey conviction. We are rather limited in the number of opponents of this class among the poets, and still more limited by the number of quotations, except in the case of Crabbe. Pope only introduces the bawling Methodists as an after-thought, Cooper has but one slight reference, while Chatterton, as we have shown, cannot be taken as a safe guide. George Crabbe, as a clergyman of the Church of England, was naturally prejudiced against the Methodists, and hence his opposition in his poems. He is, however, careful to say, as has already been pointed out (p. 79), that in one poem in particular he had an individual in view and was not condemning the whole body of Methodists *en masse*, but the spirit of bigotry and enthusiasm. Indeed, in nearly every one of his "Tales" where he speaks of the subject, it is quite clear that he has the Calvinist Methodists in mind, for we find constant reference to the "call". The objections he made to some of their tenets may perhaps have had the effect of bringing about a modification which must have been made imperceptibly as time went on.

Byrom and Cowper, on the other hand, were fully in harmony with the movement, although neither of them were Methodists. Being men of deep religious feeling themselves, they recognised the sincerity and earnestness of the Methodists to have men delivered from the power of their sins, so that they overlooked their imperfections and failings in their great admiration for the work they were performing. Methodism must ever remain thankful to them for using their talents in its service. It is perhaps worth while to note that Byrom represents Methodism in its earliest stage, and Cowper half

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a century after the Oxford Methodists first started their meetings for mutual improvement and exhortation in religious matters.

The six Periodicals examined, are, as has already been stated, on the whole, impartial. The papers admitted into the "London Magazine" (cf. p. 112 ff.) against Methodism are perhaps more severe than those in the other papers, while the "American Museum" (cf. p. 111 f.) shows itself more inclined towards the movement.

Dr. Johnson and Oliver Goldsmith agreed in seeing the advantages that accrued from the methods of preaching, adopted by the Methodists, but their notices of them are not free from strictures, which in the case of the former were perhaps more sincere and certainly better founded than in the case of the latter. Horace Walpole's unfavourable opinion is chiefly interesting, because it is a voice from the court on the subject. He could see nothing but incongruities and butts for his courtly wit. Not even Wesley himself was able to make any serious impression upon him.

Of the four great novelists, Fielding and Sterne were decided opponents of the Methodists, while Richardson and Smollett were only opposed to enthusiasm and fanaticism. The latter, however, evidently believed that the Methodists had effected a beneficial reform in the lower classes of society. We might have mentioned another author who wrote a novel which bears an unmistakeable methodistical stamp and which enjoyed a large circulation in its day. The book in question is "The Fool of Quality, or The Earl of Moreland" by Henry Brooke (1706—1783), and was first published in 1766. A strong proof of its tendency is that it was considerably abridged and published in one volume by John Wesley himself in 1780.[1]) It is only an edition of this abridgement (Halifax 1849) that we have been able to obtain. The novel is very methodistical, or what would nowadays be called evangelical, on account of the stress laid

[1]) Tyerman vol. III. p. 342. The wish for an abridgement was expressed in the "Monthly Review", April 1770, Art. XXV. p. 330.

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on the doctrines of justification and sanctification, and on the necessity of conversion. There is, however, no mention of Methodism by name, nor is any single Methodist introduced. The book was highly recommended by the "Monthly Review",[1]) exception being taken only to the religious sentiments and pious expressions contained in it, they being considered out of place in a book of fiction.

It is a well known fact that opposition and persecution always tend to strengthen and inflame rather than to weaken and extinguish. In spite of insult, persecution and calumny, Methodism prospered and became the means of stirring up the spirit of true religion within the Church itself. That there was a need of reformation, no one will deny who has read anything of the history of the social conditions of the age. Religion and morals were at a very low ebb, infidelity was rife, the luxury of the rich was without bounds, while the poor were neglected. Justice was prostituted to bribery, and the prisons were places of immorality. The church was dormant and made no efforts to awaken the spirit of religion or to improve the morals of the people. In this the Methodists set the example, and though they were excluded from the churches, yet their work was not without the effect of arousing the clergy who remained within the pale of the church. More than a century after the propagation of Methodism began, Charles Kingsley,[2]) a stout churchman, but a muscular christian and a man of broad sympathies, could write: — "The clergy are exceedingly improved; and I believe, too, that the men to whom they owe all their improvement, are the Wesleys and Whitefields — in short, the very men whom they drove one by one out of the Church, from persecution or disgust" (See Alton Locke, chap. XXIV, Tauchnitz Edit. p. 210).

John Wesley himself hardly expected that Methodism would continue long after his decease and Charles Wesley

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[1]) Vol. XXXV. pp. 145, 286, 346; vol. XXXIX. p. 410 f.; vol. XLI. p. 318; vol. XLII. p. 330.

[2]) In 1849.

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was certain that there would be an end of it, if the Methodists separated from the Church. Consequently, as early as 1769,[1]) John Wesley drew up a scheme for the perpetuation of Methodism after he was dead, but it was not before the year 1784 that the Conference became a legally incorporated institution by Wesley's Deed of Declaration.[2]) But who among the adversaries of the movement, nay, indeed, who of Wesley's best friends, even including himself, would have dared to imagine the extent to which Methodism has actually spread during the present century? According to the Methodist Kalendar for 1894, there are at present, including all the various branches of Methodism, 42,040 ministers and 6,124,786 members, with over twenty millions of adherents.

I should here like to acknowledge the great obligations I feel myself under to Professor Koeppel of the Munich University for proposing to me the above subject, for the valuable assistance rendered, and for the interest shown in the execution of it.

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[1]) Tyerman vol. III. p. 49.
[2]) Ib. p. 417 ff.

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Appendix.

Note A (cf. p. 28). — Another insignificant allusion to the Methodists is to be found in "The Primitive Puppet Show", first acted at the Haymarket on the 15th of February 1773, but never printed. Foote introduced the performance by a speech on the origin of puppet-shows, tracing them from the earliest times. Speaking of the present play, he prides himself on having no foreign actors and then continues as follows: — "We have modern patriots, made from the box; it is a wood that carries an imposing gloss, and may be easily turned; for constant lovers, we have the circling ivy, crab-stocks for old maids, and weeping willows for Methodist preachers." Cf. Biographia Dramatica, vol. III, p. 150 ff.

Note B (cf. p. 29). — That the "Minor" was not popular everywhere, is clear from a note in Dr. Gillies's "Memoirs" (p. 233), where we learn that in the year 1770 — the year of Whitefield's death — Foote was the manager of the Edinburgh Theatre and performed this play in that city. After the first performance, which was crowded, when the people discovered what the nature of it was, "the public sense of the impurity and indecency of it was such that on the second night only ten women appeared". It is also reported that the ministers of the town (the Rev. Dr. Erskine and Dr. Walker among others) took the opportunity of expressing their indignation at it from their respective pulpits.

Note C (cf. p. 35). — In the Private Correspondence of Horace Walpole mention is made of a play which seems to have contained some allusions to the Methodists, but especially to Whitefield. The piece referred to was Dr. Stratford's tragedy of "Lord Russel", acted at Drury Lane in August 1784 by irregular actors and printed about 1792, for the benefit of the author's unprovided sister. Walpole gives an outline of the plot and mentions that the gaoler compares himself

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to Solmoneus, and talks of Nabobs, Stock's Alley and Whitfield. We have not been able to procure a copy of the play, but Walpole says of the style that "it is extremely deficient in grammar, is flogged up to more extravagant rants than Statius's or Claudian's, with a due proportion of tumbles into the kennel" (cf. vol. VIII. Letter 2142 p. 199). Another work, which was also probably meant as a satire on the Methodists, is mentioned in the "Biographia Dramatica" (vol. I. part 2, p. 554). No hint is given as to whether it was written in prose or poetry, nor have we been able either to procure the work or to find any mention of it elsewhere. The author's name is John Oswald and the work itself bears the following strange title: — "Ranae Comicae Evangelicantes; or, The Comic Frogs turned Methodists". It was published in 1786.

Note D (cf. p. 36). — The Private Correspondence of Garrick contains a letter from Dr. J. Hoadly, dated June 15th 1773, in which he writes (vol. I. p. 546): "I have just been running over, for read it over fairly I could not, a most vile comedy in MS. called 'The Methodist'". This must be a different play from the one bearing the same title and ascribed to Pottinger, for Hoadly says it was by a "Mr. Jeffries, now dead, but a very ingenious man, and of uncommon learning". The "Biographia Dramatica" makes no mention of this play under the name of Jeffreys (Jeffries). This latter work includes, however, in its list of plays an interlude, entitled "The Methodist Preachers" and said to have been acted at Richmond in 1775. The author's name is not given and the piece is said not to have been printed (cf. vol. III. p. 41).

Note E (cf. p. 103). — It is a fact that this same sermon is included among Dr. Doddridge's, but we cannot think that Mr. Whitefield allowed it to appear among his own knowingly and wittingly. Until further proofs can be brought forward, we can only blame him for not having been more careful in the publication of his sermons.

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